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The Writings of Thomas Jefferson

THE THOMAS JEFFERSON MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

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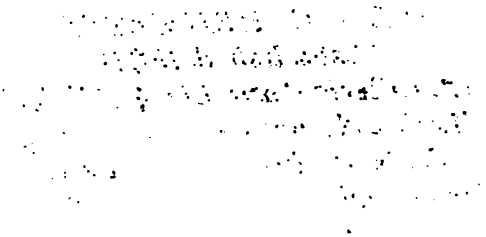

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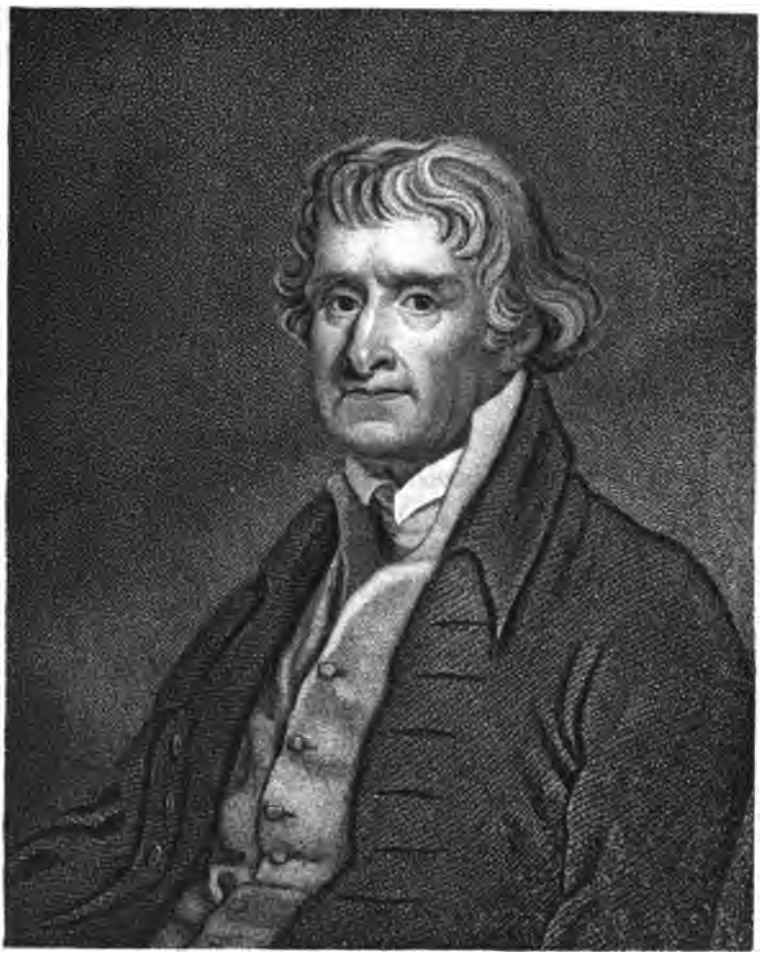

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Jefferson at Seventy-three

Photogravure from the Original Painting by Bass Otis, now in the possession of William J. Campbell of Philadelphia, Pa.

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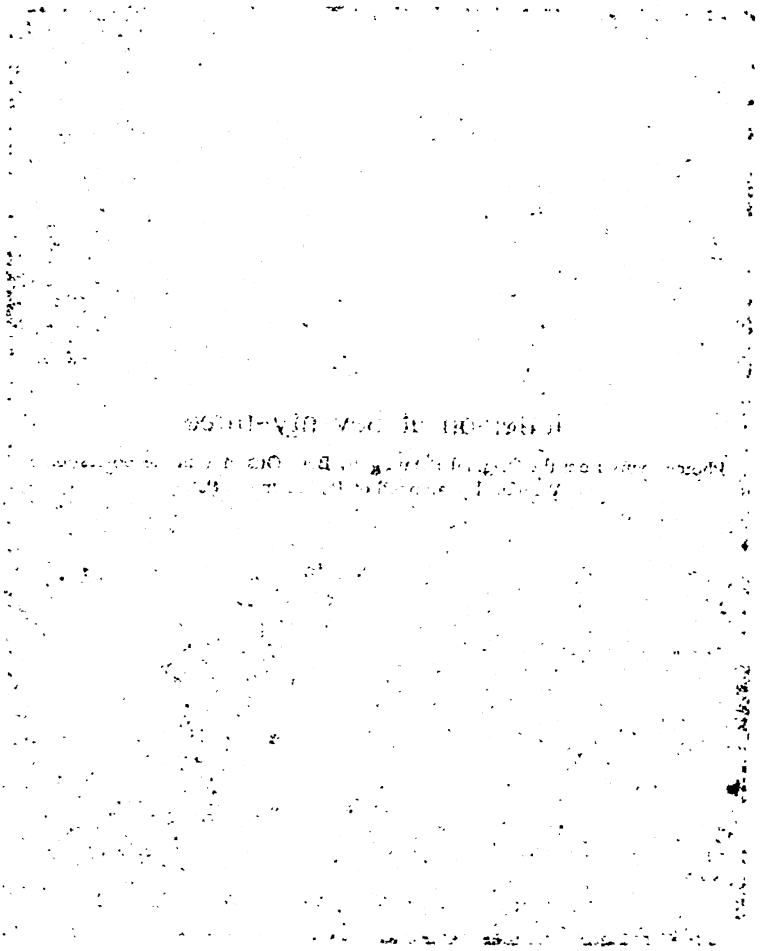

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THE WRITINGS OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

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CONTAINING HIS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, NOTES ON VIRGINIA, PARLIAMENTARY MANUAL, OFFICIAL PAPERS, MESSAGES AND ADDRESSES, AND OTHER WRITINGS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE, NOW COLLECTED AND

PUBLISHED IN THEIR ENTIRETY FOR THE FIRST TIME

INCLUDING

ALL OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, DEPOSITED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND PUBLISHED IN 1853 BY ORDER OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

AND

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYTICAL INDEX

ANDREW A. LIPSCOMB, *Chairman Board of Governors*
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ALBERT ELLERY BERGH
MANAGING EDITOR

VOL. V.

ISSUED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
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WASHINGTON, D. C.
1903

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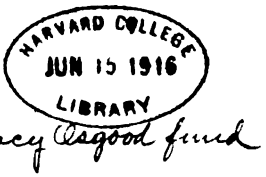

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JEFFERSON AS A CITIZEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA.[1]

This is not a controversial occasion. The political philosophy of Mr. Jefferson will take care of itself. Its power, and majesty, and simplicity find confirmation in Parton's statement that, "If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong. If America is right, Jefferson is right." [Applause.] So from the extensive field in which Jefferson wrought, far and beyond the confines of his own State, for the good and glory of America and the world, the limitation of my toast requires that I should discuss, for a few moments, Mr. Jefferson as "A Citizen of the Commonwealth of Virginia."

Mr. Jefferson was born and died upon his paternal estate in Virginia. His father, Peter Jefferson, had moved to Albemarle, then Goochland county, when it was a thinly settled community. The father was a successful farmer and surveyor, and possessed that sturdy self-reliance which has so characterized the

[1] An Address delivered by Hon. Andrew J. Montague, Governor of Virginia, at a dinner given April 13, 1902, at Washington, D. C., by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, in celebration of the one hundred and fifty-ninth birthday of the author of the Declaration of Independence.

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American people. We have seen this spirit grow,—if Senator Hoar[1] will pardon me—from a period thirteen years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, when on the Island of Jamestown, the first permanent English-speaking settlement in America was established, and thence in conjunction with a like spirit in the men of Massachusetts, it has made its victorious march across the continent. And yet from his early environment, one could not expect Jefferson to be otherwise than provincial. His opportunities for education were limited, and consisted of a little home tutoring until he came in touch with a remarkable schoolmaster in the person of Mr. Maury, under whose teachings the young Virginian first inhaled the sweet scent of the classics.

We next find him at Williamsburg, where his life was profoundly impressed by a notable man, Doctor Small, a Scotchman, and a professor in old William and Mary College, for a great contribution to whose rehabilitation I take occasion to make grateful acknowledgment to the illustrious Senator from Massachusetts. [Applause.] On his way to this college Jefferson met a very extraordinary character; a man who loved his gun, his hunting-shirt, and the conversation of his neighbors around their firesides, and under the trees of their yards and forests. A short while after this meeting, Jefferson, a tall, gaunt youth, was pushing his way into the House of Bur-

[1] United States Senator George F. Hoar, who was present and also delivered a speech on Jefferson.

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gesses and listening to this same man, "that forest-born Demosthenes," whose voice vibrated with revolution; and one cannot overestimate the influence of Henry's oration as it surged upon the intense nature of the adolescent patriot.

In Williamsburg Jefferson met the staid and conservative element—the Tories, if you please—of the Colony; but he moved steadily on with the most altruistic spirit ever possessed by an American statesman. After two years of academic training at William and Mary, he devoted five years to the study of the law, mainly under the tutelage of George Wythe, the first chancellor of Virginia, and the first judge who ever declared an act of the Legislature null and void, because contrary to the Constitution; and as a chancellor easily ranking with Kent.

As a citizen of Virginia, Jefferson's first office was that of justice of the peace (if we except his vestryman's oath and service), a tribunal admirably adapted for education in justice and its concrete administration. But Jefferson's interest in the Commonwealth was not confined to official service. His broad and masterful mind was concerned with the material growth and interests of the State. For example, he constructed a canal in the little river which runs at the foot of the great hill upon which he afterwards built his home, in order to reach the James River and thereby the sea. He studied agriculture, forestry, education, art and science. He could tie an artery or set a fractured leg. He

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was alike at home with the music of his violin and the "music of the spheres." Indeed, his mental activities and acquirements were a marvel.

We next find him in the House of Burgesses. Well has it been said to-night, that the mother Commonwealth could hardly claim him, for his great doctrines have extended over the world. Here he was in advance of Patrick Henry, not only in contending against taxation without representation, but in asserting the right of expatriation and the freedom and independence of Virginia.

In this body with easy self-command, with no self-assertion, for modesty was one of his cardinal virtues, arduous and shirking no duty, and calm in the face of every peril, he soon possessed the full confidence of his colleagues. It is sometimes asserted that Jefferson was not a man of courage, but in a general convention of the people of Virginia, a convention called in response to resolutions which he originated for a conference of the people of the colonies to gain information and take counsel in connection with British oppressions, he produced a remarkable paper, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America;" and while conservative men of the convention declined to accept it as a pronouncement of the colonial policy, yet the paper found large circulation in England, and, with some slight interpolations by Edmund Burke, became a great document on the rights of the American people. So far in advance of his compatriots were

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the views of this paper, that Jefferson's name soon found its way into a bill of attainder of the British Parliament, which happily, however, was subsequently suppressed.

Jefferson's name was now known over the colonies, and when he took his seat in the Congress at Philadelphia, it was quite the common thought that he should write the Declaration of Independence, which, in spirit and in letter, was his creation. If one doubts this let him read his "Summary Rights of British America," and the form and substance of the great declaration which was so soon to come from his hands, will at once be recognized.

Jefferson's ardent attachment to his State is exhibited upon his return from Congress by his appearance in the House of Delegates in Virginia, where he offers his bill for the abolition of estates tail, that moribund relic of juridical legerdemain so deterrent to freedom and progress. He next comes forward with a bill abolishing primogeniture, thus exhibiting his firm belief in the equality of man and man's opportunity, and his conviction that merit in the evolution of all things would finally survive and win. Then come his bills for freedom of the press, for freedom of religion, and for freedom of education. These are the cardinal principles of Jefferson's governmental polity, for his whole creed may be termed free politics, free press, free education, and free religion. He opposed all despotism, political, academic, or ecclesiastical. This fundamental creed,

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together with the purchase of Louisiana, was the structural force which gave identity to the American people.

Mr. Jefferson now became Governor of the State. He was not a soldier, nor did he claim to be one. The first year of his administration was successful, but the second was filled with embarrassment. The seat of war had been transferred from Massachusetts to Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, and Virginia was threatened from every quarter. Her seacoast was open, an inviting avenue of attack. Her western boundary was threatened by Indian invasion. Jefferson's hands were full. He had to guard the prisoners of war taken by George Rogers Clarke after his almost incomparable march and capture of Vincennes. And he must support General Gates, who had gone to meet Cornwallis in North Carolina, who Jefferson believed should be headed off in that State, as he also believed that the resources of Virginia, her men and arms, should be sent thither. But Virginia had no money, and her men were without arms. And because efforts in this direction proved unavailing, Cornwallis's invasion of Virginia was made, and Jefferson incurred great public disapprobation. A resolution of inquiry was introduced in the House of Delegates with a view of procuring condemnation of his action, yet it is apparent that he was not only doing the wise and statesmanlike thing, but that what he did was with the expressed approval of America's foremost man,

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George Washington. When his term of office expired he declined re-election, but was again elected to a seat in the House of Delegates where he courted an inquiry, and demanded an investigation of his conduct as Governor. No public man can afford to do other than to make immediate and insistent demand for public investigation of any act reflecting upon his official character. Jefferson met the situation by urging the inquiry, but no one would respond. He then arose and with great dignity, read a paper containing every charge and his minute detailed reply thereto. It was a complete vindication, and the Legislature at once voted a resolution of confidence. Indeed, the mover of the resolution, subsequently, upon the floor of the body, expressed his regret for his connection therewith, and acknowledged that he was somewhat swept away by the passions and misfortunes of war.

So Mr. Jefferson ended his life as a citizen of the Commonwealth, save his connection with three subjects of which I will now briefly speak. Before he left the Legislature he performed a great work as one of the revisers and codifiers of the laws of his State. It is sometimes said that Mr. Jefferson was not a lawyer. The opinion of an unlettered neighbor of his was once asked upon this subject, and he replied that he could not say, as Mr. Jefferson "was always on the right side of every case." Certain it is, that his papers as Secretary of State, exhibit a great knowledge of international law, and show him

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the equal of any of the great men who have filled this high position.

Mr. Jefferson rose rapidly at the bar, and his remuneration was good. He appeared in the nisi prius and appellate courts, and was engaged in some of the most important litigation of the State. He confronted in active practice, and with much success, Wythe, Pendleton, Randolph, Lee, and others; but it is of him as a law writer that I wish now mainly to speak. Mr. Jefferson was one of a committee of three to codify the laws, and to his lot fell the common law of England and her statutes down to George III. Jefferson performed his work in an extraordinary manner. He wrote the statute of descents and distributions within one page, and hardly eighteen sections, thus exhibiting the must luminous condensation found in the statutes of the world. Over one hundred years have passed and only one case of litigation has arisen for the purpose of construing this statute. The statute of frauds and perjury, drawn by a great English lawyer, is said to have cost one tithe of the entire income of Great Britain for a long period of years, yet Jefferson was so clear in thought and perspicuous in style that no room for litigation followed his labors. Well might the makers of statutes for the American Commonwealths adopt him as a model.

And may I not remind these friends of Jefferson of his conspicuous part in drafting the Virginia statute of 1778, prohibiting the importation of

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slaves into the Commonwealth by land or water, under the penalty of one thousand pounds and the freedom of the slave, thus, perhaps, placing Virginia as the second of the States to destroy this wicked business.

About this period of his career Jefferson made a remarkable contribution as a citizen of Virginia in the publication of his "Notes on Virginia." This book was originally written in response to a series of inquiries addressed to Jefferson by direction of the King of France. These notes do not constitute a mere handbook; it is really a book of official statistics. The work at once established him as an author and a scientist, and is at this day a marvel of information, elaborated by observations and descriptions copious and profound.

Before speaking of the culminating act of Mr. Jefferson's civic life mention should be made of its domestic and religious side. Jefferson early entered into the marriage bond, which happy tie lasted only ten years. His domestic life was a model. For three agonizing months before the death of his wife, he was a continuous nurse, and when the cord of her life was snapped his grief was so great that his mind seemed well-nigh unbalanced. For one year after her death he seemed struck dumb with sorrow. During this sad period one letter came from his pen, that wonderful pen that lit the pages of ten to fifteen thousand letters a year. The position of Minister to France had been tendered him; which he declined,

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however, on account of the delicate state of his wife's health. After her death he accepted a second tender and repaired to Paris, taking with him his oldest daughter, then about eleven years of age. The devotion, delicacy, and exacting care at once of a father and mother marked him, perhaps, as it had never before marked a father in America. Of the two daughters left of this marriage, no detail of education escaped Mr. Jefferson. Their studies, their music, art, deportment, manners, and morals were assiduously and profoundly studied by him. His affection for them was romantic, and these children, as well as their grand-children, bear unbroken testimony of reverence and love for him, and unite in saying that never an unkind or angry word was spoken by him to them. Indeed, I challenge all literature to exhibit a purer affection than Jefferson entertained for his children, and all romance to show a more faithful love, amidst distractions and temptations, than that shown by him to his wife through life and to her memory after death.

Jefferson's religious views have been much misunderstood. He has been misrepresented as an infidel. He was a profound believer in God, and his letters evince the highest ethical and religious standard. His affiliations were with the Episcopal Church, in which he served as a vestryman from his majority to his death; but it would probably be more accurate to class him as a Unitarian. Certainly he expressed the hope, in a letter to John Adams, for the day when

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every young man in America would be a Unitarian. He was a great student of the Bible, and abhorred orthodox theology. He would often say that if there had been no commentator, there would be no infidel, and that theologians had built a scaffolding around Christ that had hid Him from the world. He was accustomed to say that his life, and not his doctrine was his religion, exemplifying, perhaps, after all that it is not so much what one professes as what one does and is.

The achievements of Jefferson as Minister to France, as Secretary of State, as Vice-President, and twice President of the United States, are beyond the scope of my toast. In these fields of action he easily maintained his ascendancy as a statesman and a patriot; but he gladly laid down the irksome duties of public servant, which he would often say brought him "envy and enmity," and took up the great task of education for the people of his Commonwealth. He projected a system of public education which will, no doubt, meet the approval of the master educators of the world. The primary school, then the academies or colleges, then a university, and then a library. But his efforts were confined mainly to the idea which had been the inspiration of his earlier years, that is, the foundation of a University, which he finally established at the foot of Monticello hill. This great school was the darling of his old age. It is remarkable as a structure and as an intellectual and moral force. The architecture

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is from the brain and the hand of Jefferson. Tuscan, Roman, and modern designs are here woven into beautiful combinations. The architecture alone affords an intellectual stimulus, and one can hardly stand upon the classic walks of the University without breathing an educational aroma.

Mr. Jefferson would daily repair to this building. The nails which were driven into it were made by his own slaves, the sound of whose hammers would ring in his ears upon his porch at Monticello. With spy-glass in hand he would sit for hours watching the structure as it progressed. But what the University was to stand for as an educational force was his chief thought. Dr. Page has stated his broad and original views. Geneva and Edinburgh he often called the "eyes of Europe," and he expressed the wish to secure the entire faculty of one of these great schools. Though he did not succeed in this, he brought a large number of foreign scholars to fill the chairs at the University. Jefferson became its rector, and his two great friends and administrators of his political philosophy, Madison and Monroe, were of the Board of Visitors. These three men gathered at the University on the day of its dedication, and Mr. Jefferson's heart seemed satisfied. One can easily imagine his exhilaration of spirit as the Pantheon dome rose before his eye, and as he saw the students pass in and out. He watched the University to his dying day. He saw the taper of learning which he lit grow in volume, and within

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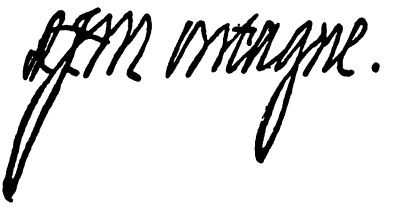
its rays he saw, as if penciled with letters of a finer light, a motto often quoted and written by him, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." [Great applause.]



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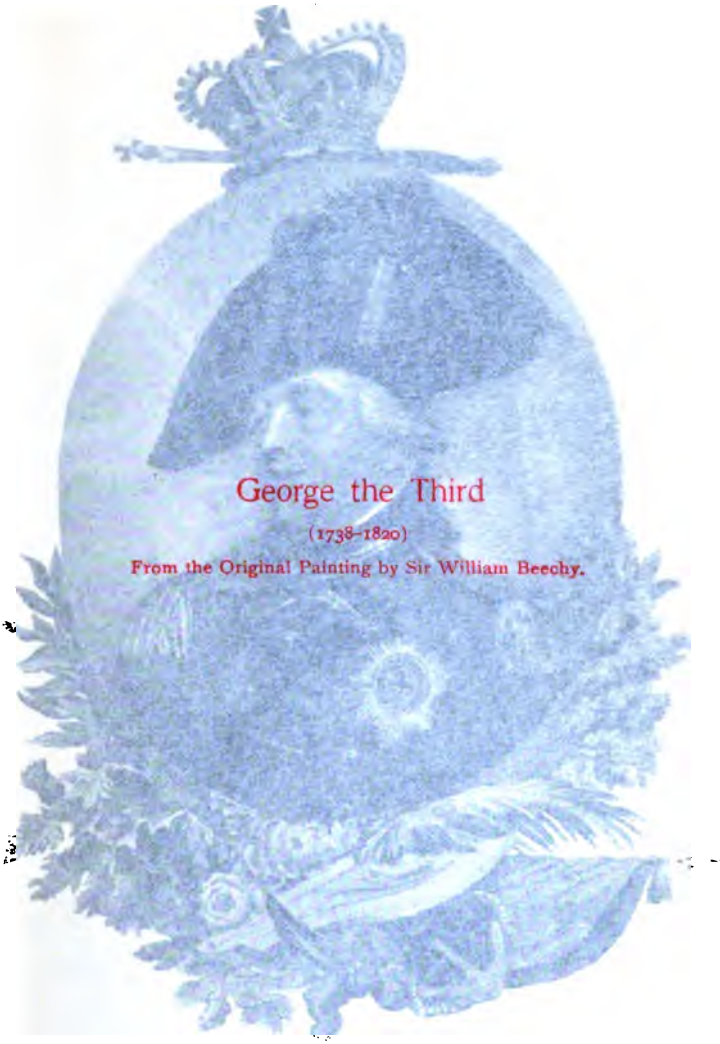

George the Third

(1738–1820)

From the Original Painting by Sir William Beechy.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTERS WRITTEN WHILE IN EUROPE.

1784-1789.

(CONTINUED.)

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JEFFERSON'S WORKS.

LETTERS WRITTEN WHILE IN EUROPE.

1784–1789.

TO COLONEL URIAH FORREST.

PARIS, CUL-DE-SAC TETEBOUT,
October 20th, 1784.

SIR,—I received yesterday your favor of the 8th instant, and this morning went to Auteuil and Passy, to consult with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin on the subject of it. We conferred together, and think it is a case in which we could not interpose (were there as yet cause for interposition), without express instructions from Congress. It is, however, our private opinion, which we give as individuals only, that Mr. McLanahan, while in England, is subject to the laws of England; that, therefore, he must employ counsel, and be guided in his defence by their advice. The law of nations, and the treaty of peace, as making a part of the law of the land, will undoubtedly be under the consideration of the judges who pronounce on Mr. McLanahan's case; and we are willing to hope, that in their knowledge

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and integrity, he will find certain resources against injustice, and a reparation of all injury to which he may have been groundlessly exposed. A final and palpable failure on their part, which we have no reason to apprehend, might make the case proper for the consideration of Congress.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of great respect and esteem, for Mr. McLanahan, as well as yourself, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, May 11th, 1785.

SIR,—I was honored, on the 2d instant, with the receipt of your favor of March the 15th, enclosing the resolution of Congress of the 10th of the same month, appointing me their Minister Plenipotentiary at this court, and also of your second letter of March 22d, covering the commission and letter of credence for that appointment. I beg permission through you, Sir, to testify to Congress my gratitude for this new mark of their favor, and my assurance of endeavoring to merit it by a faithful attention to the discharge of the duties annexed to it. Fervent zeal is all which I can be sure of carrying into their service, and, where I fail through a want of those powers which nature and circumstances deny me, I shall rely on their indulgence, and much also on that candor with which your goodness will present my proceedings to their eye. The kind terms in which

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you are pleased to notify this honor to me, require my sincere thanks. I beg you to accept them, and to be assured of the perfect esteem, with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL CHASTELLUX.

PARIS, June 7th, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I have been honored with the receipt of your letter of the 2d instant, and am to thank you, as I do sincerely, for the partiality with which you receive the copy of the Notes on my country. As I can answer for the facts, therein reported, on my own observation, and have admitted none on the report of others, which were not supported by evidence sufficient to command my own assent, I am not afraid that you should make any extracts you please for the Journal de Physique, which come within their plan of publication. The strictures on slavery and on the constitution of Virginia, are not of that kind, and they are the parts which I do not wish to have made public, at least till I know whether their publication would do most harm or good. It is possible, that in my own country, these strictures might produce an irritation, which would indispose the people towards the two great objects I have in view; that is, the emancipation of their slaves, and the settlement of their constitution on a firmer and more permanent basis. If I learn from

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thence, that they will not produce that effect, I have printed and reserved just copies enough to be able to give one to every young man at the College. It is to them I look, to the rising generation, and not to the one now in power, for these great reformations. The other copy, delivered at your hotel, was for Monsieur de Buffon. I meant to ask the favor of you to have it sent to him, as I was ignorant how to do it. I have also one for Monsieur Daubenton, but being utterly unknown to him, I cannot take the liberty of presenting it, till I can do it through some common acquaintance.

I will beg leave to say here a few words on the general question of the degeneracy of animals in America. 1. As to the degeneracy of the man of Europe transplanted to America, it is no part of Monsieur de Buffon's system. He goes, indeed, within one step of it, but he stops there. The Abbé Raynal alone has taken that step. Your knowledge of America enables you to judge this question, to say, whether the lower class of people in America are less informed and less susceptible of information, than the lower class in Europe; and whether those in America, who have received such an education as that country can give, are less improved by it than Europeans of the same degree of education. 2. As to the aboriginal man of America, I know of no respectable evidence on which the opinion of his inferiority of genius has been founded, but that of Don Ulloa. As to Robertson, he never was in

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America, he relates nothing on his own knowledge, he is a compiler only of the relations of others, and a mere translator of the opinions of Monsieur de Buffon. I should as soon, therefore, add the translators of Robertson to the witnesses of this fact, as himself. Paw, the beginner of this charge, was a compiler from the works of others; and of the most unlucky description; for he seems to have read the writings of travellers, only to collect and republish their lies. It is really remarkable, that in three volumes 12mo, of small print, it is scarcely possible to find one truth, and yet, that the author should be able to produce authority for every fact he states, as he says he can. Don Ulloa's testimony is the most respectable. He wrote of what he saw, but he saw the Indian of South America only, and that after he had passed through ten generations of slavery. It is very unfair, from this sample, to judge of the natural genius of this race of men; and, after supposing that Don Ulloa had not sufficiently calculated the allowance which should be made for this circumstance, we do him no injury in considering the picture he draws of the present Indians of South America, as no picture of what their ancestors were three hundred years ago. It is in North America we are to seek their original character. And I am safe in affirming, that the proofs of genius given by the Indians of North America place them on a level with whites in the same uncultivated state. The North of Europe furnishes subjects

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enough for comparison with them, and for a proof of their equality. I have seen some thousands myself, and conversed much with them, and have found in them a masculine, sound understanding. I have had much information from men who had lived among them, and whose veracity and good sense were so far known to me, as to establish a reliance on their information. They have all agreed in bearing witness in favor of the genius of this people. As to their bodily strength, their manners rendering it disgraceful to labor, those muscles employed in labor will be weaker with them, than with the European laborer; but those which are exerted in the chase, and those faculties which are employed in the tracing an enemy or a wild beast, in contriving ambuscades for him, and in carrying them through their execution, are much stronger than with us, because they are more exercised. I believe the Indian, then, to be, in body and mind, equal to the white man. I have supposed the black man, in his present state, might not be so; but it would be hazardous to affirm, that, equally cultivated for a few generations, he would not become so. 3. As to the inferiority of the other animals of America, without more facts, I can add nothing to what I have said in my Notes.

As to the theory of Monsieur de Buffon, that heat is friendly, and moisture adverse to the production of large animals, I am lately furnished with a fact by Dr. Franklin, which proves the air of London

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and of Paris to be more humid than that of Philadelphia, and so creates a suspicion that the opinion of the superior humidity of America may, perhaps, have been too hastily adopted. And, supposing that fact admitted, I think the physical reasonings urged to show, that in a moist country animals must be small, and that in a hot one they must be large, are not built on the basis of experiment. These questions, however, cannot be decided, ultimately, at this day. More facts must be collected, and more time flow off, before the world will be ripe for decision. In the meantime, doubt is wisdom.

I have been fully sensible of the anxieties of your situation, and that your attentions were wholly consecrated, where alone they were wholly due, to the succor of friendship and worth. However much I prize your society, I wait with patience the moment when I can have it without taking what is due to another. In the meantime, I am solaced with the hope of possessing your friendship, and that it is not ungrateful to you to receive assurances of that with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

PARIS, June 16, 1785.

SIR,—I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency some propositions which have been made from London to the Farmers General to furnish them with the tobaccos of Maryland and Virginia. For

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this paper, I am indebted to the zeal of the M. de La Fayette. I take the liberty of troubling you with it on a supposition that it may be possible to have this article furnished from those States to this country immediately without its passing through the entrepôt of London, and the returns for it being made, of course, in London merchandise. Twenty thousand hogsheads of tobacco a year delivered here in exchange for the produce and manufacture of this country, many of which are as good and cheaper than in England, would establish a rivalship for our commerce which would have happy effects upon both countries. Whether this end will be best effected by giving out these propositions to our merchants and exciting them to become candidates with the Farmers General for this contract, or by any other means, your Excellency can best judge. I shall mention this matter also to the Governor of Virginia. The other paper which accompanies the one before mentioned, is too miserable to need notice. I will take measures for apprising them of its errors.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. JAY.

PARIS, June 17, 1785.

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you on the 11th of the last month by young Mr. Adams, who

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sailed in the packet of that month. That of the present is likely to be retarded to the first of July, if not longer.

On the 14th of May I communicated to the Count de Vergennes my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to this Court, and on the 17th delivered my letter of credence to the King at a private audience, and went through the other ceremonies usual on such occasion.

We have reason to expect that Europe will enjoy peace another year. The negotiations between the Emperor and United Netherlands have been spun out to an unexpected length, but there seems little doubt but they will end in peace. Whether the exchange projected between the Emperor and Elector of Bavaria, or the pretensions of the former in his line of demarcation with the Ottoman Porte will produce war, is yet uncertain. If either of them does, this country will probably take part in it to prevent a dangerous accession of power to the House of Austria. The zeal with which they have appeared to negotiate a peace between Holland and the Empire seems to prove that they do not apprehend being engaged in war against the Emperor for any other power; because, if they had such an apprehension, they would not wish to deprive themselves of the assistance of the Dutch: and their opinion on this subject is better evidence than the details we get from the newspapers, and must weigh against the affected delays of the Porte, as to the

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line of demarcation, the change in their ministry, their preparation for war, and other symptoms of like aspect. This question is not altogether uninteresting to us. Should this country be involved in a Continental war, while differences are existing between us and Great Britain, the latter might carry less moderation into the negotiations for settling them.

I send you herewith the gazettes of Leyden and that of France for the last two months, the latter because it is the best in this country, the former as being the best in Europe. The Courier de l'Europe you will get genuine from London. As reprinted here it is of less worth. Should your knowledge of the newspapers of this country lead you to wish for any other, I shall take the greatest pleasure in adding it to the regular transmissions of two others which I shall make you in future.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and respect, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, June 17, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I received three days ago your favor of April the 12th. You therein speak of a former letter to me, but it has not come to hand, nor any other of later date than the 14th of December. My last to you was of the 11th of May by Mr. Adams,

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who went in the packet of that month. These conveyances are now becoming deranged. We have had expectations of their coming to Havre, which would infinitely facilitate the communication between Paris and Congress; but their deliberations on the subject seem to be taking another turn. They complain of the expense, and that their commerce with us is too small to justify it. They therefore talk of sending a packet every six weeks only. The present one, therefore, which should have sailed about this time, will not sail till the 1st of July. However, the whole matter is as yet undecided. I have hopes that when Mr. St. John arrives from New York, he will get them replaced on their monthly system. By-the-bye, what is the meaning of a very angry resolution of Congress on this subject? I have it not by me, and therefore cannot cite it by date, but you will remember it, and oblige me by explaining its foundation. This will be handed you by Mr. Otto, who comes to America as Chargé des Affaires, in the room of Mr. Marbois, promoted to the Intendancy of Hispaniola, which office is next to that of Governor. He becomes the head of the civil, as the Governor is, of the military department.

I am much pleased with Otto's appointment; he is good-humored, affectionate to America, will see things in a friendly light when they admit of it, in a rational one always, and will not pique himself on writing every trifling circumstance of irritation to his court. I wish you to be acquainted with him,

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as a friendly intercourse between individuals who do business together produces a mutual spirit of accommodation useful to both parties. It is very much our interest to keep up the affection of this country for us, which is considerable. A court has no affections; but those of the people whom they govern influence their decisions, even in the most arbitrary governments.

The negotiations between the Emperor and Dutch are spun out to an amazing length. At present there is no apprehension but that they will terminate in peace. This court seems to press it with ardor, and the Dutch are averse, considering the terms cruel and unjust, as they evidently are. The present delays, therefore, are imputed to their coldness and to their forms. In the meantime, the Turk is delaying the demarcation of limits between him and the Emperor, is making the most vigorous preparations for war, and has composed his ministry of warlike characters, deemed personally hostile to the Emperor. Thus time seems to be spinning out, both by the Dutch and Turks, and time is wanting for France. Every year's delay is a great thing for her. It is not impossible, therefore, but that she may secretly encourage the delays of the Dutch, and hasten the preparations of the Porte, while she is recovering vigor herself, also, in order to be able to present such a combination to the Emperor as may dictate to him to be quiet. But the designs of these courts are unsearchable. It is our interest to pray

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that this country may have no continental war till our peace with England is perfectly settled. The merchants of this country continue as loud and furious as ever against the *Arret* of August, 1784, permitting our commerce with their islands to a certain degree. Many of them have actually abandoned their trade. The ministry are disposed to be firm; but there is a point at which they will give way, that is, if the clamors should become such as to endanger their places. It is evident that nothing can be done by us at this time, if we may hope it hereafter. I like your removal to New York, and hope Congress will continue there, and never execute the idea of building their Federal town. Before it could be finished, a change of members in Congress, or the admission of new States, would remove them somewhere else. It is evident that when a sufficient number of the western States come in, they will remove it to Georgetown. In the meantime, it is our interest that it should remain where it is, and give no new pretensions to any other place. I am also much pleased with the proposition to the States to invest Congress with the regulation of their trade, reserving its revenue to the States. I think it a happy idea, removing the only objection which could have been justly made to the proposition. The time, too, is the present, before the admission of the western States. I am very differently affected towards the new plan of opening our land office, by dividing the lands among the States, and selling

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them at vendue. It separates still more the interests of the States, which ought to be made joint in every possible instance, in order to cultivate the idea of our being one nation, and to multiply the instances in which the people shall look up to Congress as their head. And when the States get their portions, they will either fool them away, or make a job of it to serve individuals. Proofs of both these practices have been furnished, and by either of them that invaluable fund is lost, which ought to pay our public debt. To sell them at vendue, is to give them to the bidders of the day, be they many or few. It is ripping up the hen which lays golden eggs. If sold in lots at a fixed price, as first proposed, the best lots will be sold first; as these become occupied, it gives a value to the interjacent ones, and raises them, though of inferior quality, to the price of the first. I send you by Mr. Otto a copy of my book. Be so good as to apologize to Mr. Thompson for my not sending him one by this conveyance. I could not burthen Mr. Otto with more on so long a road as that from here to L'Orient. I will send him one by a Mr. Williams, who will go ere long. I have taken measures to prevent its publication. My reason is, that I fear the terms in which I speak of slavery, and of our constitution, may produce an irritation which will revolt the minds of our countrymen against reformation in these two articles, and thus do more harm than good. I have asked of Mr.

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Madison to sound this matter as far as he can, and, if he thinks it will not produce that effect, I have then copies enough printed to give one to each of the young men at the College, and to my friends in the country.

I am sorry to see a possibility of * * * being put into the Treasury. He has no talents for the office, and what he has, will be employed in rummaging old accounts to involve you in eternal war with * * * and he will, in a short time, introduce such dissensions into the commission, as to break it up. If he goes on the other appointment to Kaskaskia, he will produce a revolt of that settlement from the United States. I thank you for your attention to my outfit. For the articles of household furniture, clothes, and a carriage, I have already paid twenty-eight thousand livres, and have still more to pay. For the greatest part of this, I have been obliged to anticipate my salary, from which, however, I shall never be able to repay it. I find, that by a rigid economy, bordering however on meanness, I can save perhaps five hundred livres a month, at least in the summer. The residue goes for expenses so much of course and of necessity, that I cannot avoid them without abandoning all respect to my public character. Yet I will pray you to touch this string, which I know to be a tender one with Congress, with the utmost delicacy. I had rather be ruined in my fortune than in their esteem. If they allow me half a year's salary as an outfit, I can get through my debts in time. If they raise the salary to what it was, or

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even pay our house rent and taxes, I can live with more decency. I trust that Mr. Adams's house at the Hague, and Dr. Franklin's at Passy, the rent of which has been always allowed him, will give just expectations of the same allowance to me. Mr. Jay, however, did not charge it, but he lived economically and laid up money.

I will take the liberty of hazarding to you some thoughts on the policy of entering into treaties with the European nations, and the nature of them. I am not wedded to these ideas, and, therefore, shall relinquish them cheerfully when Congress shall adopt others, and zealously endeavor to carry theirs into effect. First, as to the policy of making treaties. Congress, by the Confederation, have no original and inherent power over the commerce of the States. But, by the 9th article, we are authorized to enter into treaties of commerce. The moment these treaties are concluded, the jurisdiction of Congress over the commerce of the States springs into existence, and that of the particular States is superseded so far as the articles of the treaty may have taken up the subject. There are two restrictions only, on the exercise of the power of treaty by Congress. 1st. That they shall not, by such treaty, restrain the legislatures of the States from imposing such duties on foreigners, as their own people are subject to; nor 2dly, from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any particular species of goods. Leaving these two points free, Congress may, by

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treaty, establish any system of commerce they please; but, as I before observed, it is by treaty alone they can do it. Though they may exercise their other powers by resolution or ordinance, those over commerce can only be exercised by forming a treaty, and this probably by an accidental wording of our Confederation. If, therefore, it is better for the States that Congress should regulate their commerce, it is proper that they should form treaties with all nations with whom they may possibly trade. You see that my primary object in the formation of treaties is to take the commerce of the States out of the hands of the States, and to place it under the superintendence of Congress, so far as the imperfect provisions of our constitutions will admit, and until the States shall, by new compact, make them more perfect. I would say, then, to every nation on earth, *by treaty*, your people shall trade freely with us, and ours with you, paying no more than the most favored nation, in order to put an end to the right of individual States, acting by fits and starts, to interrupt our commerce, or to embroil us with any nation. As to the terms of these treaties, the question becomes more difficult. I will mention three different plans. 1. That no duty shall be laid by either party on the productions of the other. 2. That each may be permitted to equalize their duties to those laid by the other. 3. That each shall pay in the ports of the other, such duties only as the most favored nations pay.

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1. Were the nations of Europe as free and unembarrassed of established systems as we are, I do verily believe they would concur with us in the first plan. But it is impossible. These establishments are fixed upon them; they are interwoven with the body of their laws and the organization of their government, and they make a great part of their revenue; they cannot then, get rid of them.

2. The plan of equal imposts presents difficulties insurmountable. For how are the equal imposts to be effected? Is it by laying, in the ports of A, an equal per cent. on the goods of B, with that which B has laid in his ports on the goods of A? But how are we to find what is that per cent.? For this is not the usual form of imposts. They generally pay by the ton, by the measure, by the weight, and not by the value. Besides, if A sends a million's worth of goods to B, and takes back but the half of that, and each pays the same per cent., it is evident that A pays the double of what he recovers in the same way from B: this would be our case with Spain. Shall we endeavor to effect equality, then, by saying A may levy so much on the sum of B's importations into his ports, as B does on the sum of A's importations into the ports of B? But how find out that sum? Will either party lay open their custom-house books candidly to evince this sum? Does either keep their books so exactly as to be able to do it? This proposition was started in Congress when our instructions were formed, as you may remember, and

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the impossibility of executing it occasioned it to be disapproved. Besides, who should have a right of deciding, when the imposts were equal? A would say to B, my imposts do not raise so much as yours: I raise them therefore. B would then say, you have made them greater than mine, I will raise mine; and thus a kind of auction would be carried on between them, and a mutual irritation, which would end in anything, sooner than equality and right.

3. I confess then to you, that I see no alternative left but that which Congress adopted, of each party placing the other on the footing of the most favored nation. If the nations of Europe, from their actual establishments, are not at liberty to say to America, that she shall trade in their ports duty free, they may say she may trade there paying no higher duties than the most favored nation; and this is valuable in many of these countries, where a very great difference is made between different nations. There is no difficulty in the execution of this contract, because there is not a merchant who does not know, or may not know, the duty paid by every nation on every article. This stipulation leaves each party at liberty to regulate their own commerce by general rules, while it secures the other from partial and oppressive discriminations. The difficulty which arises in our case is, with the nations having American territory. Access to the West Indies is indispensably necessary to us. Yet how to gain it, when it is the established system of these nations to

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exclude all foreigners from their colonies. The only chance seems to be this: our commerce to the mother country is valuable to them. We must endeavor, then, to make this the price of an admission into their West Indies, and to those who refuse the admission, we must refuse our commerce, or load theirs by odious discriminations in our ports. We have this circumstance in our favor too, that what one grants us in their islands, the others will not find it worth their while to refuse. The misfortune is, that with this country we gave this price for their aid in the war, and we have now nothing more to offer. She, being withdrawn from the competition, leaves Great Britain much more at liberty to hold out against us. This is the difficult part of the business of treaty, and I own it does not hold out the most flattering prospects.

I wish you would consider this subject, and write me your thoughts on it. Mr. Gerry wrote me on the same subject. Will you give me leave to impose on you the trouble of communicating this to him? It is long, and will save me much labor in copying. I hope he will be so indulgent as to consider it as an answer to that part of his letter, and will give me his further thoughts on it.

Shall I send you so much of the Encyclopedia as is already published, or reserve it here till you come? It is about forty volumes, which probably is about half the work. Give yourself no uneasiness about the money; perhaps I may find it convenient to ask

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you to pay trifles occasionally for me in America. I sincerely wish you may find it convenient to come here; the pleasure of the trip will be less than you expect, but the utility greater. It will make you adore your own country, its soil, its climate, its equality, liberty, laws, people, and manners. My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy. I confess I had no idea of it myself. While we shall see multiplied instances of Europeans going to live in America, I will venture to say, no man now living will ever see an instance of an American removing to settle in Europe, and continuing there. Come, then, and see the proofs of this, and on your return add your testimony to that of every thinking American, in order to satisfy our countrymen how much it is their interest to preserve, uninfected by contagion, those peculiarities in their governments and manners, to which they are indebted for those blessings. Adieu, my dear friend; present me affectionately to your colleagues. If any of them think me worth writing to, they may be assured that in the epistolary account I will keep the debit side against them. Once more. adieu.

Yours affectionately.

P. S. June 19. Since writing the above, we have received the following account: Monsieur Pilatre de Roziere, who had been waiting for some months at

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as a friendly intercourse between individuals who do business together produces a mutual spirit of accommodation useful to both parties. It is very much our interest to keep up the affection of this country for us, which is considerable. A court has no affections; but those of the people whom they govern influence their decisions, even in the most arbitrary governments.

The negotiations between the Emperor and Dutch are spun out to an amazing length. At present there is no apprehension but that they will terminate in peace. This court seems to press it with ardor, and the Dutch are averse, considering the terms cruel and unjust, as they evidently are. The present delays, therefore, are imputed to their coldness and to their forms. In the meantime, the Turk is delaying the demarcation of limits between him and the Emperor, is making the most vigorous preparations for war, and has composed his ministry of warlike characters, deemed personally hostile to the Emperor. Thus time seems to be spinning out, both by the Dutch and Turks, and time is wanting for France. Every year's delay is a great thing for her. It is not impossible, therefore, but that she may secretly encourage the delays of the Dutch, and hasten the preparations of the Porte, while she is recovering vigor herself, also, in order to be able to present such a combination to the Emperor as may dictate to him to be quiet. But the designs of these courts are unsearchable. It is our interest to pray

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that this country may have no continental war till our peace with England is perfectly settled. The merchants of this country continue as loud and furious as ever against the *Arret* of August, 1784, permitting our commerce with their islands to a certain degree. Many of them have actually abandoned their trade. The ministry are disposed to be firm; but there is a point at which they will give way, that is, if the clamors should become such as to endanger their places. It is evident that nothing can be done by us at this time, if we may hope it hereafter. I like your removal to New York, and hope Congress will continue there, and never execute the idea of building their Federal town. Before it could be finished, a change of members in Congress, or the admission of new States, would remove them somewhere else. It is evident that when a sufficient number of the western States come in, they will remove it to Georgetown. In the meantime, it is our interest that it should remain where it is, and give no new pretensions to any other place. I am also much pleased with the proposition to the States to invest Congress with the regulation of their trade, reserving its revenue to the States. I think it a happy idea, removing the only objection which could have been justly made to the proposition. The time, too, is the present, before the admission of the western States. I am very differently affected towards the new plan of opening our land office, by dividing the lands among the States, and selling

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them at vendue. It separates still more the interests of the States, which ought to be made joint in every possible instance, in order to cultivate the idea of our being one nation, and to multiply the instances in which the people shall look up to Congress as their head. And when the States get their portions, they will either fool them away, or make a job of it to serve individuals. Proofs of both these practices have been furnished, and by either of them that invaluable fund is lost, which ought to pay our public debt. To sell them at vendue, is to give them to the bidders of the day, be they many or few. It is ripping up the hen which lays golden eggs. If sold in lots at a fixed price, as first proposed, the best lots will be sold first; as these become occupied, it gives a value to the interjacent ones, and raises them, though of inferior quality, to the price of the first. I send you by Mr. Otto a copy of my book. Be so good as to apologize to Mr. Thompson for my not sending him one by this conveyance. I could not burthen Mr. Otto with more on so long a road as that from here to L'Orient. I will send him one by a Mr. Williams, who will go ere long. I have taken measures to prevent its publication. My reason is, that I fear the terms in which I speak of slavery, and of our constitution, may produce an irritation which will revolt the minds of our countrymen against reformation in these two articles, and thus do more harm than good. I have asked of Mr.

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Madison to sound this matter as far as he can, and, if he thinks it will not produce that effect, I have then copies enough printed to give one to each of the young men at the College, and to my friends in the country.

I am sorry to see a possibility of * * * being put into the Treasury. He has no talents for the office, and what he has, will be employed in rummaging old accounts to involve you in eternal war with * * * and he will, in a short time, introduce such dissensions into the commission, as to break it up. If he goes on the other appointment to Kaskaskia, he will produce a revolt of that settlement from the United States. I thank you for your attention to my outfit. For the articles of household furniture, clothes, and a carriage, I have already paid twenty-eight thousand livres, and have still more to pay. For the greatest part of this, I have been obliged to anticipate my salary, from which, however, I shall never be able to repay it. I find, that by a rigid economy, bordering however on meanness, I can save perhaps five hundred livres a month, at least in the summer. The residue goes for expenses so much of course and of necessity, that I cannot avoid them without abandoning all respect to my public character. Yet I will pray you to touch this string, which I know to be a tender one with Congress, with the utmost delicacy. I had rather be ruined in my fortune than in their esteem. If they allow me half a year's salary as an outfit, I can get through my debts in time. If they raise the salary to what it was, or

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even pay our house rent and taxes, I can live with more decency. I trust that Mr. Adams's house at the Hague, and Dr. Franklin's at Passy, the rent of which has been always allowed him, will give just expectations of the same allowance to me. Mr. Jay, however, did not charge it, but he lived economically and laid up money.

I will take the liberty of hazarding to you some thoughts on the policy of entering into treaties with the European nations, and the nature of them. I am not wedded to these ideas, and, therefore, shall relinquish them cheerfully when Congress shall adopt others, and zealously endeavor to carry theirs into effect. First, as to the policy of making treaties. Congress, by the Confederation, have no original and inherent power over the commerce of the States. But, by the 9th article, we are authorized to enter into treaties of commerce. The moment these treaties are concluded, the jurisdiction of Congress over the commerce of the States springs into existence, and that of the particular States is superseded so far as the articles of the treaty may have taken up the subject. There are two restrictions only, on the exercise of the power of treaty by Congress. 1st. That they shall not, by such treaty, restrain the legislatures of the States from imposing such duties on foreigners, as their own people are subject to; nor 2dly, from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any particular species of goods. Leaving these two points free, Congress may, by

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treaty, establish any system of commerce they please; but, as I before observed, it is by treaty alone they can do it. Though they may exercise their other powers by resolution or ordinance, those over commerce can only be exercised by forming a treaty, and this probably by an accidental wording of our Confederation. If, therefore, it is better for the States that Congress should regulate their commerce, it is proper that they should form treaties with all nations with whom they may possibly trade. You see that my primary object in the formation of treaties is to take the commerce of the States out of the hands of the States, and to place it under the superintendence of Congress, so far as the imperfect provisions of our constitutions will admit, and until the States shall, by new compact, make them more perfect. I would say, then, to every nation on earth, *by treaty*, your people shall trade freely with us, and ours with you, paying no more than the most favored nation, in order to put an end to the right of individual States, acting by fits and starts, to interrupt our commerce, or to embroil us with any nation. As to the terms of these treaties, the question becomes more difficult. I will mention three different plans. 1. That no duty shall be laid by either party on the productions of the other. 2. That each may be permitted to equalize their duties to those laid by the other. 3. That each shall pay in the ports of the other, such duties only as the most favored nations pay.

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1. Were the nations of Europe as free and unembarrassed of established systems as we are, I do verily believe they would concur with us in the first plan. But it is impossible. These establishments are fixed upon them; they are interwoven with the body of their laws and the organization of their government, and they make a great part of their revenue; they cannot then, get rid of them.

2. The plan of equal imposts presents difficulties insurmountable. For how are the equal imposts to be effected? Is it by laying, in the ports of A, an equal per cent. on the goods of B, with that which B has laid in his ports on the goods of A? But how are we to find what is that per cent.? For this is not the usual form of imposts. They generally pay by the ton, by the measure, by the weight, and not by the value. Besides, if A sends a million's worth of goods to B, and takes back but the half of that, and each pays the same per cent., it is evident that A pays the double of what he recovers in the same way from B: this would be our case with Spain. Shall we endeavor to effect equality, then, by saying A may levy so much on the sum of B's importations into his ports, as B does on the sum of A's importations into the ports of B? But how find out that sum? Will either party lay open their custom-house books candidly to evince this sum? Does either keep their books so exactly as to be able to do it? This proposition was started in Congress when our instructions were formed, as you may remember, and

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the impossibility of executing it occasioned it to be disapproved. Besides, who should have a right of deciding, when the imposts were equal? A would say to B, my imposts do not raise so much as yours: I raise them therefore. B would then say, you have made them greater than mine, I will raise mine; and thus a kind of auction would be carried on between them, and a mutual irritation, which would end in anything, sooner than equality and right.

3. I confess then to you, that I see no alternative left but that which Congress adopted, of each party placing the other on the footing of the most favored nation. If the nations of Europe, from their actual establishments, are not at liberty to say to America, that she shall trade in their ports duty free, they may say she may trade there paying no higher duties than the most favored nation; and this is valuable in many of these countries, where a very great difference is made between different nations. There is no difficulty in the execution of this contract, because there is not a merchant who does not know, or may not know, the duty paid by every nation on every article. This stipulation leaves each party at liberty to regulate their own commerce by general rules, while it secures the other from partial and oppressive discriminations. The difficulty which arises in our case is, with the nations having American territory. Access to the West Indies is indispensably necessary to us. Yet how to gain it, when it is the established system of these nations to

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exclude all foreigners from their colonies. The only chance seems to be this: our commerce to the mother country is valuable to them. We must endeavor, then, to make this the price of an admission into their West Indies, and to those who refuse the admission, we must refuse our commerce, or load theirs by odious discriminations in our ports. We have this circumstance in our favor too, that what one grants us in their islands, the others will not find it worth their while to refuse. The misfortune is, that with this country we gave this price for their aid in the war, and we have now nothing more to offer. She, being withdrawn from the competition, leaves Great Britain much more at liberty to hold out against us. This is the difficult part of the business of treaty, and I own it does not hold out the most flattering prospects.

I wish you would consider this subject, and write me your thoughts on it. Mr. Gerry wrote me on the same subject. Will you give me leave to impose on you the trouble of communicating this to him? It is long, and will save me much labor in copying. I hope he will be so indulgent as to consider it as an answer to that part of his letter, and will give me his further thoughts on it.

Shall I send you so much of the Encyclopedia as is already published, or reserve it here till you come? It is about forty volumes, which probably is about half the work. Give yourself no uneasiness about the money; perhaps I may find it convenient to ask

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you to pay trifles occasionally for me in America. I sincerely wish you may find it convenient to come here; the pleasure of the trip will be less than you expect, but the utility greater. It will make you adore your own country, its soil, its climate, its equality, liberty, laws, people, and manners. My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy. I confess I had no idea of it myself. While we shall see multiplied instances of Europeans going to live in America, I will venture to say, no man now living will ever see an instance of an American removing to settle in Europe, and continuing there. Come, then, and see the proofs of this, and on your return add your testimony to that of every thinking American, in order to satisfy our countrymen how much it is their interest to preserve, uninfected by contagion, those peculiarities in their governments and manners, to which they are indebted for those blessings. Adieu, my dear friend; present me affectionately to your colleagues. If any of them think me worth writing to, they may be assured that in the epistolary account I will keep the debit side against them. Once more. adieu.

Yours affectionately.

P. S. June 19. Since writing the above, we have received the following account: Monsieur Pilatre de Roziere, who had been waiting for some months at

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Boulogne for a fair wind to cross the channel, at length took his ascent with a companion. The wind changed after awhile, and brought him back on the French coast. Being at a height of about six thousand feet, some accident happened to his balloon of inflammable air; it burst, they fell from that height, and were crushed to atoms. There was a Montgolfier combined with the balloon of inflammable air. It is suspected the heat of the Montgolfier rarefied too much the inflammable air of the other, and occasioned it to burst. The Montgolfier came down in good order.

TO JOSEPH JONES.

PARIS, June 19, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of enclosing to you a state of the case of one Polson, and begging your inquiries and information whether the lands therein mentioned have been escheated and sold, and, if they have, what would be the proper method of application to obtain a compensation for them.

The negotiations between Holland and the Emperor are slow, but will probably end in peace. It is believed the Emperor will not at present push the Bavarian exchange. The Porte delays the demarcation of limits with him, and is making vigorous preparations for war. But neither will this latter be permitted to produce a war, if France can prevent it, because, wherever the Emperor is seeking to

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enlarge his dominions, France will present to him the point of a bayonet. But she wishes extremely for repose, and has need of it. She is the wealthiest but worst governed country on earth; and her finances utterly unprepared for war. We have need to pray for her repose, and that she may not be engaged in a continental war while our matters with Great Britain are so unsettled and so little like being settled.

An accident has happened here which will probably damp the ardor with which aërial navigation has been pursued. Monsieur Pilatre de Roziere had been attending many months at Boulogne a fair wind to cross the channel in a balloon which was compounded of one of inflammable air, and another called a Montgolfier with rarefied air only. He at length thought the wind fair and with a companion ascended. After proceeding a proper direction about two leagues, the wind changed and brought them again over the French coast. Being at the height of about six thousand feet, some accident, unknown, burst the balloon of inflammable air, and the Montgolfier being unequal alone to sustain their weight, they precipitated from that height to the earth, and were crushed to atoms. Though navigation by water is attended with frequent accidents, and in its infancy must have been attended with more, yet these are now so familiar that we think little of them, while that which has signalized the two first martyrs to the aëronautical art will probably deter

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very many from the experiments they would have been disposed to make. Will you give me leave to hope the pleasure of hearing from you sometimes. The details from my own country of the proceedings of the legislative, executive and judiciary bodies, and even those which respect individuals only, are the most pleasing treat we can receive at this distance, and the most useful also. I will promise in return whatever may be interesting to you here.

I am, with very perfect esteem, Sir,

Your friend and servant.

TO CHARLES THOMPSON.

PARIS, June 21, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of March the 6th, has come duly to hand. You therein acknowledge the receipt of mine of November the 11th; at that time you could not have received my last, of February the 8th. At present there is so little new in politics, literature, or the arts, that I write rather to prove to you my desire of nourishing your correspondence, than of being able to give you anything interesting at this time. The political world is almost lulled to sleep by the lethargic state of the Dutch negotiation, which will probably end in peace. Nor does this court profess to apprehend that the Emperor will involve this hemisphere in war by his schemes on Bavaria and Turkey. The arts, instead of advancing, have lately received a check, which will probably

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render stationary for awhile, that branch of them which had promised to elevate us to the skies. Pilatre de Roziere, who had first ventured into that region, has fallen a sacrifice to it. In an attempt to pass from Boulogne over to England, a change in the wind having brought him back on the coast of France, some accident happened to his balloon of inflammable air, which occasioned it to burst, and that of rarefied air combined with it being then unequal to the weight, they fell to the earth from a height, which the first reports made six thousand feet, but later ones have reduced to sixteen hundred. Pilatre de Roziere was dead when a peasant, distant one hundred yards only, ran to him; but Romain, his companion, lived about ten minutes, though speechless, and without his senses. In literature there is nothing new. For I do not consider as having added anything to that field my own Notes, of which I have had a few copies printed. I will send you a copy by the first safe conveyance. Having troubled Mr. Otto with one for Colonel Monroe, I could not charge him with one for you. Pray ask the favor of Colonel Monroe, in page 5, line 17, to strike out the words, "above the mouth of the Appomattox," which makes nonsense of the passage; and I forgot to correct it before I had enclosed and sent off the copy to him. I am desirous of preventing the reprinting this, should any book merchant think it worth it, till I hear from my friends, whether the terms in which I have

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spoken of slavery and the constitution of our State, will not, by producing an irritation, retard that reformation which I wish, instead of promoting it. Dr. Franklin proposes to sail for America about the first or second week of July. He does not yet know, however, by what conveyance he can go. Unable to travel by land, he must descend the Seine in a boat to Havre. He has sent to England to get some vessel bound for Philadelphia, to touch at Havre for him. But he receives information that this cannot be done. He has been on the look-out ever since he received his permission to return; but, as yet, no possible means of getting a passage have offered, and I fear it is very uncertain when any will offer.

I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir,

Your friend and servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, June 23, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 2d instant, since which I have received yours of the 3d and 7th. I informed you in mine of the substance of our letter to Baron Thulemeyer: last night came to hand his acknowledgment of the receipt of it. He accedes to the method proposed for signing, and has forwarded our dispatch to the King. I enclose you a copy of our letter to Mr. Jay, to go by the packet of this month. It contains a state of our proceedings since

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the preceding letter, which you had signed with us. This statement contains nothing but what you had concurred with us in; and, as Dr. Franklin expects to go early in July to America, it is probable that the future letters must be written by you and myself. I shall, therefore, take care that you be furnished with copies of everything which comes to hand on the joint business.

What has become of this Mr. Lambe? I am uneasy at the delay of that business, since we know the ultimate decision of Congress. Dr. Franklin, having a copy of the Corps Diplomatique, has promised to prepare a draught of a treaty to be offered to the Barbary States: as soon as he has done so, we will send it to you for your corrections. We think it will be best to have it in readiness against the arrival of Mr. Lambe, on the supposition that he may be addressed to the joint ministers for instructions.

I asked the favor of you in my last, to choose two of the best London papers for me; one of each party. The Duke of Dorset has given me leave to have them put under his address, and sent to the office from which his despatches come. I think he called it Cleveland office, or Cleveland lane, or by some such name; however, I suppose it can be easily known there. Will Mr. Stockdale undertake to have these papers sent regularly, or is this out of the line of his business? Pray order me, also, any really good pamphlets that come out from time to time, which he will charge to me.

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I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO M. DU PORTAIL.

PARIS, June 27, 1785.

SIR,—I had the honor of informing you some time ago that I had written to the Board of Treasury on the subject of the arrearages of interest due to the foreign officers, and urging the necessity of paying them. I now enclose the extract of a letter which I have just received from them, and by which you will perceive that their funds were not in a condition for making that payment in the moment of receiving my letter, but that they would be attentive to make it in the first moment it should be in their power. There is still a second letter of mine on the way to them, on the same subject, which will again press for exertions in this business, which, however, I am satisfied they will not fail to do their utmost in. It will give me real pleasure to inform you of effectual provision for this purpose in the first moment possible, being with sentiments of esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, July 5, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you by Mr. Adams, May the 11th, and by Mr. Otto, June the 17th. The latter

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acknowledged the receipt of yours of April the 12th, which is the only one come to hand of later date than December the 14th. Little has occurred since my last. Peace seems to show herself under a more decided form. The Emperor is now on a journey to Italy, and the two Dutch Plenipotentiaries have set out for Vienna; there to make an apology for their State having dared to fire a gun in defence of her invaded rights: this is insisted on as a preliminary condition. The Emperor seems to prefer the glory of terror to that of justice; and, to satisfy this tinsel passion, plants a dagger in the heart of every Dutchman which no time will extract. I enquired lately of a gentleman who lived long at Constantinople, in a public character, and enjoyed the confidence of that government, insomuch as to become well acquainted with its spirit and its powers, what he thought might be the issue of the present affair between the Emperor and the Porte. He thinks the latter will not push matters to a war; and, if they do, they must fail under it. They have lost their warlike spirit, and their troops cannot be induced to adopt the European arms. We have no news yet of Mr. Lambe; of course, our Barbary proceedings are still at a stand.[1]

Yours Affectionately.

[1 The remainder of this letter is in cypher, to which there is no key in the Editor's possession.]

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TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, July 7, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—This will accompany a joint letter enclosing the draft of a treaty, and my private letter of June 23d, which has waited so long for a private conveyance. We daily expect from the Baron Thulemeyer the French column for our treaty with his sovereign. In the meanwhile, two copies are preparing with the English column, which Dr. Franklin wishes to sign before his departure, which will be within four or five days. The French, when received, will be inserted in the blank columns of each copy. As the measure of signing at several times and places is new, we think it necessary to omit no other circumstance of ceremony which can be observed. That of sending it by a person of confidence, and invested with a character relative to the object, who shall attest our signatures here, yours in London, and Baron Thulemeyer's at the Hague, and who shall make the actual exchanges, we think will contribute to supply the departure from the usual form, in other instances. For this reason, we have agreed to send Mr. Short on this business, to make him a secretary *pro hac vice*, and to join Mr. Dumas for the operations of exchange, &c. As Dr. Franklin will have left us before Mr. Short's mission will commence, and I have never been concerned in the ceremonials of a treaty, I will thank you for your immediate information as to the papers he should be furnished with from hence.

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He will repair first to you in London, thence to the Hague, and then return to Paris.

What has become of Mr. Lambe? Supposing he was to call on the commissioners for instructions, and thinking it best these should be in readiness, Dr. Franklin undertook to consult well the Barbary treaties with other nations, and to prepare a sketch which we should have sent for your correction. He tells me he has consulted those treaties, and made references to the articles proper for us, which, however, he will not have time to put into form, but will leave them with me to reduce. As soon as I see them, you shall hear from me. A late conversation with an English gentleman here makes me believe, what I did not believe before, that his nation thinks seriously that Congress have no power to form a treaty of commerce. As the explanations of this matter, which you and I may separately give, may be handed to their minister, it would be well that they should agree. For this reason, as well as for the hope of your showing me wherein I am wrong, and confirming me where I am right, I will give you my creed on the subject. It is contained in these four principles. By the Confederation, Congress have no power given them, in the first instance, over the commerce of the States. But they have a power given them of entering into treaties of commerce, and these treaties may cover the whole field of commerce, with two restrictions only. 1. That the States may impose equal duties on foreigners as natives: and 2. That they

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may prohibit the exportation or importation of any species of goods whatsoever. When they shall have entered into such treaty, the superintendence of it results to them; all the operations of commerce, which are protected by its stipulations, come under their jurisdiction, and the power of the States to thwart them by their separate acts, ceases. If Great Britain asks, then, why she should enter into any treaty with us? why not carry on her commerce without treaty? I answer; because, till a treaty is made, no consul of hers can be received (his functions being called into existence by a convention only, and the States having abandoned the right of separate agreements and treaties); no protection to her commerce can be given by Congress; no cover to it from those checks and discouragements with which the States will oppress it, acting separately, and by fits and starts. That they will act so till a treaty is made Great Britain has had several proofs; and I am convinced those proofs will become general. It is, then, to put her commerce with us on systematical ground, and under safe cover, that it behoves Great Britain to enter into treaty. As I own to you that my wish to enter into treaties with the other powers of Europe arises more from a desire of bringing all our commerce under the jurisdiction of Congress, than from any other views. Because, according to my idea, the commerce of the United States with those countries, not under treaty with us, is under the jurisdiction of each State separately; but that of the countries,

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which have treated with us, is under the jurisdiction of Congress, with the two fundamental restraints only, which I have before noted.

I shall be happy to receive your corrections of these ideas, as I have found, in the course of our joint services, that I think right when I think with you.

I am, with sincere affection, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

P. S. Monsieur Houdon has agreed to go to America to take the figure of General Washington. In case of his death, between his departure from Paris, and his return to it, we may lose twenty thousand livres. I ask the favor of you to enquire what it will cost to ensure that sum, on his life, in London, and to give me as early an answer as possible, that I may order the insurance if I think the terms easy enough. He is, I believe, between thirty and thirty-five years of age, healthy enough, and will be absent about six months.

TO M. DE CASTRIES.

PARIS, July 10th, 1785.

SIR,—I am honored with your Excellency's letter on the prize money for which Mr. Jones applies. The papers intended to have been therein enclosed, not having been actually enclosed, I am unable to say anything on their subject. But I find that Congress, on the first day of November, 1783, recommended Captain Jones to their Minister here, as agent, to

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solicit, under his direction, payment to the officers and crews for the prizes taken in Europe under his command; requiring him previously to give to their superintendent of finance good security for paying to him whatever he should receive, to be by him distributed to those entitled. In consequence of this, Captain Jones gave the security required, as is certified by the superintendent of finance on the 6th of November, 1783, and received from Doctor Franklin on the 17th of December, 1783, due authority, as agent, to solicit the said payments.

From these documents, I consider Captain Jones as agent for the citizens of the United States, interested in the prizes taken in Europe under his command, and that he is properly authorized to receive the money due to them, having given good security to transmit it to the treasury office of the United States, whence it will be distributed, under the care of Congress, to the officers and crews originally entitled, or to their representatives.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MESSRS. FRENCH AND NEPHEW.

PARIS, July 13th, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—I had the honor of receiving your letter of June the 21st, enclosing one from Mr. Alexander of June the 17th, and a copy of his application

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to Monsieur de Calonnes. I am very sensible that no trade can be on a more desperate footing than that of tobacco, in this country; and that our merchants must abandon the French markets, if they are not permitted to sell the productions they bring, on such terms as will enable them to purchase reasonable returns in the manufactures of France. I know but one remedy to the evil; that of allowing a free vent; and I should be very happy in being instrumental to the obtaining this. But, while the purchase of tobacco is monopolized by a company, and they pay for that monopoly a heavy price to the government, they doubtless are at liberty to fix such places and terms of purchase, as may enable them to make good their engagements with government. I see no more reason for obliging them to give a greater price for tobacco than they think they can afford, than to do the same between two individuals treating for a horse, a house, or anything else. Could this be effected by applications to the minister, it would only be a palliative which would retard the ultimate cure, so much to be wished for and aimed at by every friend to this country, as well as to America.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant.

TO DR. STYLES.

PARIS, July 17, 1785.

SIR;—I have long deferred doing myself the honor of writing to you, wishing for an opportunity to

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accompany my letter with a copy of the Bibliothéque Physico-œconomique; a book published here lately in four small volumes, and which gives an account of all the improvements in the arts which have been made for some years past. I flatter myself you will find in it many things agreeable and useful. I accompany it with the volumes of the "Connoisance des Tems" for the years 1781, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787. But why, you will ask, do I send you old almanacs, which are proverbially useless? Because, in these publications have appeared, from time to time, some of the most precious things in astronomy. I have searched out those particular volumes which might be valuable to you on this account. That of 1781, contains de la Caille's catalogue of fixed stars reduced to the commencement of that year, and a table of the aberrations and nutations of the principal stars. 1784 contains the same catalogue with the *nébuleuses* of Messier. 1785 contains the famous catalogue of Hamsteed, with the positions of the stars reduced to the beginning of the year 1784, and which supersedes the use of that immense book. 1786 gives you Euler's lunar tables corrected; and 1787, the tables for the planet Herschel. The two last needed not an apology, as not being within the description of old almanacs. It is fixed on grounds which scarcely admit a doubt that the planet Herschel was seen by Mayer in the year 1756, and was considered by him as one of the zodiacal stars, and, as such, arranged in his catalogue,

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being the 964th which he describes. This 964th of Mayer has been since missing, and the calculations for the planet Herschel show that it should have been, at the time of Mayer's observation, where he places his 964th star. The volume of 1787 gives you Mayer's catalogue of the zodiacal stars. The researches of the natural philosophers of Europe seem mostly in the field of chemistry, and here, principally, on the subjects of air and fire. The analysis of these two subjects, presents to us very new ideas. When speaking of the "Bibliothéque Physico-œconomique," I should have observed, that since its publication, a man in this city has invented a method of moving a vessel on the water, by a machine worked within the vessel. I went to see it. He did not know himself the principle of his own invention. It is a screw with a very broad thin worm, or rather it is a thin plate with its edge applied spirally round an axis. This being turned, operates on the air, as a screw does, and may be literally said to screw the vessel along; the thinness of the medium, and its want of resistance, occasion a loss of much of the force. The screw, I think, would be more effectual if placed below the surface of the water. I very much suspect that a countryman of ours, Mr. Bushnel of Connecticut, is entitled to the merit of a prior discovery of this use of the screw. I remember to have heard of his submarine navigation during the war, and, from what Colonel Humphreys now tells me, I conjecture that the screw was the power he used. He joined to

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this a machine for exploding under water at a given moment. If it were not too great a liberty for a stranger to take, I would ask from him a narration of his actual experiments, with or without a communication of his principle, as he should choose. If he thought proper to communicate it, I would engage never to disclose it, unless I could find an opportunity of doing it for his benefit. I thank you for your information as to the great bones found on the Hudson river. I suspect that they must have been of the same animal with those found on the Ohio; and, if so, they could not have belonged to any human figure, because they are accompanied with tusks of the size, form and substance, of those of the elephant. I have seen a part of the ivory, which was very good. The animal itself must have been much larger than an elephant. Mrs. Adams gives me an account of a flower found in Connecticut, which vegetates when suspended in the air. She brought one to Europe. What can be this flower? It would be a curious present to this continent.

The accommodation likely to take place between the Dutch and the Emperor, leaves us without that unfortunate resource for news, which wars give us. The Emperor has certainly had in view the Bavarian exchange of which you have heard; but so formidable an opposition presented itself, that he has thought proper to disavow it. The Turks show a disposition to go to war with him, but, if this country can prevail on them to remain in peace, they will do

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so. It has been thought that the two Imperial courts have a plan of expelling the Turks from Europe. It is really a pity so charming a country should remain in the hands of a people, whose religion forbids the admission of science and the arts among them. We should wish success to the object of the two empires, if they meant to leave the country in possession of the Greek inhabitants. We might then expect, once more, to see the language of Homer and Demosthenes a living language. For I am persuaded the modern Greek would easily get back to its classical models. But this is not intended. They only propose to put the Greeks under other masters: to substitute one set of barbarians for another.

Colonel Humphreys, having satisfied you that all attempts would be fruitless here to obtain money or other advantages for your college, I need add nothing on that head. It is a method of supporting colleges of which they have no idea, though they practice it for the support of their lazy monkish institutions.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, July 28, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of July the 16th and 18th, came to hand the same day on which I had received Baron Thulemeyer's enclosing the ultimate draught

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for the treaty. As this draught, which was in French, was to be copied into the two instruments which Dr. Franklin had signed, it is finished this day only. Mr. Short sets out immediately. I have put into his hands a letter of instructions how to conduct himself, which I have signed, leaving a space above for your signature. The two treaties I have signed at the left hand, Dr. Franklin having informed me that the signatures are read backwards. Besides the instructions to Mr. Short, I signed also a letter to Mr. Dumas, associating him with Mr. Short. These two letters I made out as nearly conformably as I could to your ideas expressed in your letter of the 18th. If anything more be necessary, be so good as to make a separate instruction for them signed by yourself, to which I will accede. I have not directed Mr. Dumas's letter. I have heretofore directed to him as "Agent for the United States at the Hague," that being the description under which the journals of Congress speak of him. In his last letter to me, is a paragraph from which I conclude that the address I have used is not agreeable, and perhaps may be wrong. Will you be so good as to address the letter to him, and to inform me how to address him hereafter? Mr. Short carries also the other papers necessary. His equipment for his journey requiring expenses which cannot come into the account of ordinary expenses, such as clothes, &c., what allowance should be made him? I have supposed somewhere between a guinea a day, and one thousand dollars a

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year, which I believe is the salary of a private secretary. This I mean as over and above his travelling expenses. Be so good as to say, and I will give him an order on his return. The danger of robbery, has induced me to furnish him with only money enough to carry him to London. You will be so good as to procure him enough to carry him to the Hague, and back to Paris.

The confederation of the King of Prussia with some members of the Germanic body, for the preservation of their constitution, is, I think, beyond a doubt. The Emperor has certainly complained of it in formal communications at several courts. By what can be collected from diplomatic conversation here, I also conclude it tolerably certain, that the Elector of Hanover has been invited to accede to the confederation, and has done, or is doing so. You will have better circumstances, however, on the spot, to form a just judgment. Our matters with the first of these powers being now in conclusion, I wish it was so with the Elector of Hanover. I conclude, from the general expressions in your letter, that little may be expected. Mr. Short furnishing so safe a conveyance that the trouble of the cypher may be dispensed with, I will thank you for such details of what has passed, as may not be too troublesome to you.

The difficulties of getting books into Paris delayed for some time my receipt of the Corps diplomatique left by Dr. Franklin. Since that, we have been en-

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gaged with expediting Mr. Short. A huge packet also, brought by Mr. Mazzei, has added to the causes which have as yet prevented me from examining Dr. Franklin's notes on the Barbary treaty. It shall be one of my first occupations. Still the possibility is too obvious that we may run counter to the instructions of Congress, of which Mr. Lambe is said to be the bearer. There is a great impatience in America for these treaties. I am much distressed between this impatience and the known will of Congress, on the one hand, and the uncertainty of the details committed to this tardy servant.

The Duke of Dorset sets out for London to-morrow. He says he shall be absent two months. There is some whisper that he will not return, and that Lord Carmarthen wishes to come here. I am sorry to lose so honest a man as the Duke. I take the liberty to ask an answer about the insurance of Houdon's life.

Congress is not likely to adjourn this summer. They have passed an ordinance for selling their lands. I have not received it.

What would you think of the enclosed draught to be proposed to the courts of London and Versailles? I would add Madrid and Lisbon, but that they are still more desperate than the others. I know it goes beyond our powers, and beyond the powers of Congress too; but it is so evidently for the good of all the States, that I should not be afraid to risk myself on it, if you are of the same opinion. Consider it, if you please, and give me your thoughts on it by Mr.

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Short; but I do not communicate it to him, nor any other mortal living but yourself.

Be pleased to present me in the most friendly terms to the ladies, and believe me to be, with great esteem,

Dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THE BARON DE THULEMEYER.

PARIS, July 28, 1785.

SIR,—I was honored with the receipt of your letter on the 24th instant, together with the French draught of the treaty proposed. As it ultimately meets His Majesty's approbation, Dr. Franklin, our colleague, having assisted us through the progress of this business, we were desirous he also should join in the execution. Duplicate instruments were therefore prepared, each divided into two columns, in one of which we entered the English form as it has been settled between us, leaving the other blank to receive the French, which we expected from you. In this state the Doctor, before his departure, put his signature and seal to the two instruments. We have since put into the blank column the French form received from you verbatim. As we thought that such instruments should not be trusted out of confidential hands, and the bearer thereof, William Short, Esq., heretofore a member of the Council of State in Virginia, happened to be in Paris, and willing to give us his assistance herein, they are delivered

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into his hands with other necessary papers, according to an arrangement previously made between Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin and myself. He will proceed to London to obtain Mr. Adams's signature, and thence to the Hague, where we have, according to your desire, associated Mr. Dumas with him to concur with you in the final execution. It is with singular pleasure I see this connection formed by my country with a sovereign whose character gives a lustre to all the transactions of which he makes part. Give me leave to recommend Mr. Short to your notice, His talents and merits are such as to have placed him, young as he is, in the Supreme Executive Council of Virginia, an office which he relinquished to visit Europe. The letter to Baron Steuben shall be taken care of.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO MESSRS. N. AND J. VAN STAPHORST, *Amsterdam.*

PARIS, July 30, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—I received yesterday your favor of the 25th. Supposing that the funds which are the object of your enquiry, are those which constitute what we call our *domestic* debt, it is my opinion that they are absolutely secure: I have no doubt at all but that they will be paid, with their interest at six per cent. But I cannot say that they are as secure

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and solid as the funds which constitute our *foreign* debt; because no man in America ever entertained a doubt that our foreign debt is to be paid fully; but some people in America have seriously contended, that the certificates, and other evidences of our domestic debt, ought to be redeemed only at what they have cost the holder; for I must observe to you, that these certificates of domestic debt, having as yet no provision for the payment of principal or interest, and the original holders being mostly needy, have been sold at a very great discount. When I left America (July, 1784,) they sold, in different States, at from 15s. to 2s. 6d. in the pound; and any amount of them might then have been purchased. Hence some thought that full justice would be done, if the public paid the purchasers of them what they actually paid for them, and interest on that. But this is very far from being a general opinion; a very great majority being firmly decided that they shall be paid fully. Were I the holder of any of them, I should not have the least fear of their full payment. There is also a difference between different species of certificates; some of them being receivable in taxes, others having the benefit of particular assurances, &c. Again, some of these certificates are for paper money debts. A deception here must be guarded against. Congress ordered all such to be re-settled by the depreciation tables, and a new certificate to be given in exchange for them, expressing their value in real money. But all have not yet

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been re-settled. In short, this is a science in which few in America are expert, and no person in a foreign country can be so. Foreigners should therefore be sure that they are well advised, before they meddle with them, or they may suffer. If you will reflect with what degree of success persons actually in America could speculate in the European funds, which rise and fall daily, you may judge how far those in Europe may do it in the American funds, which are more variable from a variety of causes.

I am not at all acquainted with Mr. Daniel Parker, further than having once seen him in Philadelphia. He is of Massachusetts, I believe, and I am of Virginia. His circumstances are utterly unknown to me. I think there are few men in America, if there is a single one, who could command a hundred thousand pounds' sterling worth of these notes, at their real value. At their nominal amount, this might be done perhaps with twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, if the market price of them be as low as when I left America.

I am, with very great respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, July 31, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I was honored yesterday with yours of the 24th instant. When the first article of our instructions of May 7th, 1784, was under debate in

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Congress, it was proposed that neither party should make the other pay, in their ports, greater duties, than they paid in the ports of the other. One objection to this was, its impracticability; another, that it would put it out of our power to lay such duties on alien importation as might encourage importation by natives. Some members, much attached to English policy, thought such a distinction should actually be established. Some thought the power to do it should be reserved, in case any peculiar circumstances should call for it, though under the present, or, perhaps, any probable circumstances, they did not think it would be good policy ever to exercise it. The footing *gentis amicissimæ* was therefore adopted, as you see in the instruction. As far as my enquiries enable me to judge, France and Holland make no distinction of duties between aliens and natives. I also rather believe that the other States of Europe make none, England excepted, to whom this policy, as that of her navigation act, seems peculiar. The question then is, should we disarm ourselves of the power to make this distinction against all nations, in order to purchase an exception from the alien duties in England only; for if we put her importations on the footing of native, all other nations with whom we treat will have a right to claim the same. I think we should, because against other nations, who make no distinction in their ports between us and their own subjects, we ought not to make a distinction in ours. And if the English will agree, in

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like manner, to make none, we should, with equal reason, abandon the right as against them. I think all the world would gain, by setting commerce at perfect liberty. I remember that when we were digesting the general form of our treaty, this proposition to put foreigners and natives on the same footing was considered; and we were all three, Dr. Franklin as well as you and myself, in favor of it. We finally, however, did not admit it, partly from the objection you mention, but more still on account of our instructions. But though the English proclamation had appeared in America at the time of framing these instructions, I think its effect, as to alien duties, had not yet been experienced, and therefore was not attended to. If it had been noted in the debate, I am sure that the annihilation of our whole trade would have been thought too great a price to pay for the reservation of a barren power, which a majority of the members did not propose ever to exercise, though they were willing to retain it. Stipulating for equal rights to foreigners and natives, we obtain more in foreign ports than our instructions required, and we only part with, in our own ports, a power of which sound policy would probably forever forbid the exercise. Add to this, that our treaty will be for a very short term, and if any evil be experienced under it, a reformation will soon be in our power. I am, therefore, for putting this among our original propositions to the court of London.

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If it should prove an insuperable obstacle with them, or if it should stand in the way of a greater advantage, we can but abandon it in the course of the negotiation.

In my copy of the cypher, on the alphabetical side, numbers are wanting from "Denmark" to "disc" inclusive, and from "gone" to "governor" inclusive. I suppose them to have been omitted in copying; will you be so good as to send them to me from yours, by the first safe conveyance?

With compliments to the ladies, and to Colonel Smith,

I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.[1]

TO MR. WILLIAM SHORT.[2]

July, 1785.

SIR,—A treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and his majesty the King of Prussia having been arranged with the Baron de Thulemeyer, his majesty's envoy extraordinary at the Hague, specially empowered for this purpose, and it being inconsistent with our other duties to

[1 The original of this letter was in cypher. But annexed to the copy in cypher, is the above literal copy by the author.]

[2 Mr. Short was Mr. Jefferson's private secretary. The propositions of our ministers for commercial treaties, were received with coldness by all the European powers except Prussia, Denmark, and Tuscany. Frederick met their propositions cordially, and a treaty was soon concluded with his minister at the Hague. With Denmark and Tuscany our own ministers, from considerations of policy, protracted the negotiations until their powers expired.—ED.]

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repair to that place ourselves for the purpose of executing and exchanging the instruments of treaty, we hereby appoint you special secretary for that purpose.

You receive from Colonel Humphreys, secretary of our legation, the original of our full powers, and a copy of the same attested by him, heretofore communicated to us by the Baron de Thulemeyer, and the two instruments of treaty awarded between us, each in two columns, the one in English and the other in French, equally originals. From us you receive a letter to Charles Dumas, Esq., * * * for the United States at the Hague, associating him with you in the object of your mission.

You will proceed immediately to the Hague, and being arrived there, will deliver the letter to Mr. Dumas, and proceed conjunctly with him in the residue of your business, which is to be executed there.

The original of our full powers is to be exhibited to the plenipotentiary of his majesty the King of Prussia, and the attested copy is to be left with him, you taking back the original. You will in like manner ask an exhibition of the original of his full powers, and also a copy duly attested: you will compare the copy with the original, and, being satisfied of its exactness, you will return the original and keep the copy. That you may be under no doubt whether the full powers exhibited to you be sufficient or not, you receive from Colonel Hum-

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phreys those which the Baron de Thulemeyer heretofore sent to us; if those which shall be exhibited agree with these in form or substance, they will be sufficient.

The full powers being approved on each side and exchanged, you will obtain the signature and seal of the Prussian plenipotentiary to the two instruments of treaty with which you are charged, and yourself and Mr. Dumas will attest the same. One of these original instruments will remain in the hands of the Prussian plenipotentiary, the other you will retain.

You will ask that the ratification of his majesty the King of Prussia be made known to us as soon as it shall have taken place, giving an assurance on our part that that of Congress shall also be communicated as soon as it shall have taken place; when both ratifications shall be known, measures may be concerted for exchanging them. You will confer with the said plenipotentiary on the expediency of keeping this treaty uncommunicated to the public until the exchange of ratifications agree accordingly.

You will then return to Paris, and redeliver to the secretary of our legation, our original full powers, the copies of those of Prussia before-mentioned, and the original instrument of the treaty which you shall have retained.

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TO M. DE CASTRIES.

PARIS, August 3, 1785.

SIR,—The enclosed copy of a letter from Captain John Paul Jones, on the subject on which your Excellency did me the honor to write me, on the — day of July, will inform you that there is still occasion to be troublesome to you. A Mr. Puchilberg, a merchant of L'Orient, who seems to have kept himself unknown till money was to be received, now presents powers to receive it, signed by the American officers and crews; and this produces a hesitation in the person to whom your order was directed. Congress, however, having substituted Captain Jones, as agent, to solicit and receive this money, he having given them security to forward it, when received, to their treasury, to be thence distributed to the claimants, and having at a considerable expense of time, trouble, and money, attended it to a conclusion, are circumstances of weight, against which Mr. Puchilberg seems to have nothing to oppose, but a nomination by individuals of the crew, under which he has declined to act, and permitted the business to be done by another without contradiction from him. Against him, too, it is urged that he fomented the sedition which took place among them; that he obtained this nomination from them while their minds were under ferment; and that he has given no security for the faithful payment of the money to those entitled to it.

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I will add to these, one more circumstance which appears to render it impossible that he should execute this trust. It is now several years since the right to this money arose. The persons in whom it originally vested were probably from different States in America. Many of them must be now dead; and their rights passed on to their representatives. But who are their representatives? The laws of some States prefer one degree of relations, those of others prefer another, there being no uniformity among the States on this point. Mr. Puchilberg, therefore, should know which of the parties are dead; in what order the laws of their respective States call their relations to the succession; and, in every case, which of those orders are actually in existence, and entitled to the share of the deceased. With the Atlantic Ocean between the principals and their substitute, your Excellency will perceive what an inexhaustible source of difficulties, of chicanery, and delay, this might furnish to a person who should find an interest in keeping this money, as long as possible, in his own hands. Whereas, if it be lodged in the treasury of Congress, they, by an easy reference to the tribunals of the different States, can have every one's portion immediately rendered to himself, if living; and if dead, to such of his relations as the laws of his particular State prefer, and as shall be found actually living. I the rather urge this course, as I foresee that it will relieve your Excellency from numberless appeals,

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which these people will continually be making from the decisions of Mr. Puchilberg; appeals likely to perpetuate that trouble of which you have already had too much, and to which I am sorry to be obliged to add, by asking a peremptory order for the execution of what you were before pleased to decide on this subject.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, August 6, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I now enclose you a draught of a treaty for the Barbary States, together with the notes Dr. Franklin left me. I have retained a press copy of this draught, so that by referring to any article, line and word, in it, you can propose amendments, and send them by the post, without anybody's being able to make much of the main subject. I shall be glad to receive any alterations you may think necessary, as soon as convenient, that this matter may be in readiness. I enclose also a letter containing intelligence from Algiers. I know not how far it is to be relied on. My anxiety is extreme indeed, as to these treaties. We know that Congress have decided ultimately to treat. We know how far they will go. But unfortunately we know also, that a particular person has been charged with

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instructions for us, these five months, who neither comes nor writes to us. What are we to do? It is my opinion, that if Mr. Lambe does not come in either of the packets (English or French) now expected, we ought to proceed. I therefore propose to you this term, as the end of our expectations of him, and that if he does not come, we send some other person. Dr. Bancroft or Captain Jones occurs to me as the fittest. If we consider the present object only, I think the former would be the most proper; but if we look forward to the very probable event of war with those pirates, an important object would be obtained by Captain Jones' becoming acquainted with their ports, force, tactics, &c. Let me know your opinion on this. I have never mentioned it to either, but I suppose either might be induced to go. Present me affectionately to the ladies and Colonel Smith, and be assured of the sincerity with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO DR. PRICE.

PARIS, August 7, 1785.

SIR,—Your favor of July the 2d came duly to hand. The concern you therein express as to the effect of your pamphlet in America, induces me to trouble you with some observations on that subject.

From my acquaintance with that country, I think I am able to judge, with some degree of certainty,

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of the manner in which it will have been received. Southward of the Chesapeake, it will find but few readers concurring with it in sentiment, on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice; a minority, which for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number, who have not the courage to divest their families of a property, which, however, keeps their conscience unquiet. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find, here and there, an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find, here and there, a robber and murderer; but in no greater number. In that part of America, there being but few slaves, they can easily disencumber themselves of them; and emancipation is put into such a train, that in a few years there will be no slaves northward of Maryland. In Maryland, I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this enormity, as in Virginia. This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice, in conflict with avarice and oppression; a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits, from the influx into office of young men grown, and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question. Be not therefore discouraged. What you have written will do a great

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deal of good; and could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the laboring side. The College of William and Mary, in Williamsburg, since the re-modelling of its plan, is the place where are collected together all the young men of Virginia, under preparation for public life. They are there under the direction (most of them) of a Mr. Wythe, one of the most virtuous of characters, and whose sentiments on the subject of slavery are unequivocal. I am satisfied, if you could resolve to address an exhortation to those young men, with all that eloquence of which you are master, that its influence on the future decision of this important question would be great, perhaps decisive. Thus you see, that, so far from thinking you have cause to repent of what you have done, I wish you to do more, and wish it, on an assurance of its effect. The information I have received from America, of the reception of your pamphlet in the different States, agrees with the expectations I had formed.

Our country is getting into a ferment against yours, or rather has caught it from yours. God knows how this will end; but assuredly in one extreme or the other. There can be no medium between those who have loved so much. I think the decision is in your power as yet, but will not be so long.

I pray you to be assured of the sincerity of the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

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TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, August 10, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 4th instant came to hand yesterday. I now enclose you the two *Arrets* against the importation of foreign manufactures into this kingdom. The cause of the balance against this country, in favor of England, as well as its amount, is not agreed on. No doubt the rage for English manufactures must be a principal cause. The speculators in exchange say also that those of the circumjacent countries who have a balance in their favor against France, remit that balance to England from France. If so, it is possible that the English may count this balance twice; that is, in summing their exports to one of these States, and their imports from it, they count the difference once in their favor, then a second time when they sum the remittances of cash they receive from France. There has been no *Arret* relative to our commerce since that of August, 1784. And all the late advices from the French West Indies are, that they have now in their ports always three times as many vessels as there ever were before, and that the increase is principally from our States. I have now no further fears of that *Arret's* standing its ground. When it shall become firm, I do not think its extension desperate. But whether the placing it on the firm basis of treaty be practicable, is a very different question. As far as it is possible to judge from

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appearances, I conjecture that Crawford will do nothing. I infer this from some things in his conversation, and from an expression of the Count de Vergennes in a conversation with me yesterday. I pressed upon him the importance of opening their ports freely to us in the moment of the oppressions of the English regulations against us, and perhaps of the suspension of their commerce. He admitted it, but said we had free ingress with our productions. I enumerated them to him, and showed him on what footing they were, and how they might be improved. We are to have further conversations on the subject. I am afraid the voyage to Fontainebleau will interrupt them. From the inquiries I have made, I find I cannot get a very small and indifferent house there for the season, (that is, for a month,) for less than one hundred or one hundred and fifty guineas. This is nearly the whole salary for the time, and would leave nothing to eat. I therefore cannot accompany the court thither, but I will endeavor to go there occasionally from Paris. They tell me it is the most favorable scene for business with the Count de Vergennes, because he is then more abstracted from the domestic applications. Count d'Aranda is not yet returned from the waters of Vichy. As soon as he returns, I will apply to him in the case of Mr. Watson. I will pray you to insure Houdon's life from the 27th of last month till his return to Paris. As he was to stay in America a month or two, he will probably be about six months

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absent; but the three per cent. for the voyage being once paid, I suppose they will insure his life by the month, whether his absence be longer or shorter. The sum to be insured is fifteen thousand livres tournois. If it be not necessary to pay the money immediately, there is a prospect of exchange becoming more favorable. But whenever it is necessary, be so good as to procure it by selling a draft on Mr. Grand, which I will take care shall be honored. With compliments to the ladies,

I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 14, 1785.

SIR,—I was honored, on the 22d ultimo, with the receipt of your letter of June the 15th; and delivered the letter therein enclosed, from the President of Congress to the King. I took an opportunity of asking the Count de Vergennes, whether the Chevalier Luzerne proposed to return to America? He answered me that he did; and that he was here, for a time only, to arrange his private affairs. Of course, this stopped my proceeding further, in compliance with the hint in your letter. I knew that the Chevalier Luzerne still retained the character of minister to Congress, which occasioned my premising the question I did. But, notwithstanding the answer, which indeed was the only one the Count de Vergennes could give me, I believe it is not

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expected that the Chevalier will return to America: that he is waiting an appointment here, to some of their embassies, or some other promotion, and in the meantime, as a favor, is permitted to retain his former character. Knowing the esteem borne him in America, I did not suppose it would be wished that I should add anything which might occasion an injury to him; and the rather, as I presumed that at this time, there did not exist the same reason for wishing the arrival of a minister in America, which, perhaps, existed there at the date of your letter. Count Adhemar is just arrived from London, on account of a paralytic disease with which he has been struck. It does not seem improbable that his place will be supplied, and perhaps by the Chevalier de la Luzerne.

A French vessel has lately refused the salute to a British armed vessel in the channel. The Chargé des Affaires of Great Britain, at this court, (their ambassador having gone to London a few days ago,) made this the subject of a conference with the Count de Vergennes, on Tuesday last. He told me that the Count explained the transaction as the act of the individual master of the French vessel, not founded in any public orders. His earnestness, and his endeavors to find terms sufficiently soft to express the Count's explanation, had no tendency to lessen any doubts I might have entertained on this subject. I think it possible the refusal may have been by order: nor can I believe that Great Britain is in a

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condition to resent it, if it was so. In this case, we shall see it repeated by France; and her example will then be soon followed by other nations. The news-writers bring together this circumstance, with the departure of the French ambassador from London, and the English ambassador from Paris, the manœuvring of a French fleet just off the channel, the collecting some English vessels of war in the channel, the failure of a commercial treaty between the two countries, and a severe *Arret* here against English manufactures, as foreboding war. It is possible that the fleet of manœuvre, the refusal of the salute, and the English fleet of observation, may have a connection with one another. But I am persuaded the other facts are totally independent of these, and of one another, and are accidentally brought together in point of time. Neither nation is in a condition to go to war: Great Britain, indeed, the least so of the two. The latter power, or rather, its monarch, as Elector of Hanover, has lately confederated with the King of Prussia, and others of the Germanic body, evidently in opposition to the Emperor's designs on Bavaria. An alliance, too, between the Empress of Russia and the republic of Venice, seems to have had him in view, as he had meditated some exchange of territory with that republic. This desertion of the powers heretofore thought friendly to him, seems to leave no issue for his ambition, but on the side of Turkey. His demarkation with that country is still unsettled.

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His difference with the Dutch is certainly agreed. The articles are not yet made public; perhaps not quite adjusted. Upon the whole, we may count on another year's peace in Europe, and that our friends will not, within that time, be brought into any embarrassments, which might encourage Great Britain to be difficult in settling the points still unsettled between us.

You have, doubtless, seen in the papers, that this court was sending two vessels into the south sea, under the conduct of a Captain Peyrouse. They give out, that the object is merely for the improvement of our knowledge of the geography of that part of the globe. And certain it is, that they carry men of eminence in different branches of science. Their loading, however, as detailed in conversations, and some other circumstances, appeared to me to indicate some other design: perhaps that of colonizing on the western coast of America; or, it may be, only to establish one or more factories there, for the fur trade. Perhaps we may be little interested in either of these objects. But we are interested in another, that is, to know whether they are perfectly weaned from the desire of possessing continental colonies in America. Events might arise, which would render it very desirable for Congress to be satisfied they have no such wish. If they would desire a colony on the western side of America, I should not be quite satisfied that they would refuse one which should offer itself on the eastern side.

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Captain Paul Jones being at L'Orient, within a day's journey of Brest, where Captain Peyrouse's vessels lay, I desired him, if he could not satisfy himself at L'Orient of the nature of this equipment, to go to Brest for that purpose: conducting himself so as to excite no suspicion that we attended at all to this expedition. His discretion can be relied on, and his expenses for so short a journey, will be a trifling price for satisfaction on this point. I hope, therefore, that my undertaking that the expenses of his journey shall be reimbursed him will not be disapproved.

A gentleman, lately arrived from New York, tells me he thinks it will be satisfactory to Congress to be informed of the effect produced here by the insult of Longchamps on Monsieur de Marbois. Soon after my arrival in France last summer, it was the matter of a conversation between the Count de Vergennes and myself. I explained to him the effect of the judgment against Longchamps. He did not say that it was satisfactory, but neither did he say a word from which I could collect that it was not so. The conversation was not official, because foreign to the character in which I then was. He has never mentioned a word on the subject to me since, and it was not for me to introduce it at any time. I have never once heard it mentioned in conversation, by any person of this country, and have no reason to suppose that there remains any uneasiness on the subject. I have indeed been told, that they had

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sent orders to make a formal demand of Longchamps from Congress, and had immediately countermanded these orders. You know whether this be true. If it be, I should suspect the first orders to have been surprised from them by some exaggeration, and that the latter was a correction of their error, in the moment of further reflection. Upon the whole, there certainly appears to me no reason to urge the State, in which the fact happened, to any violation of their laws, nor to set a precedent which might hereafter be used in cases more interesting to us than the late one.

In a late conversation with the Count de Vergennes, he asked me if the condition of our finances was improving. He did not make an application of the question to the arrearages of their interest, though perhaps he meant that I should apply it. I told him the impost still found obstacles, and explained to him the effects which I hoped from our land office. Your letter of the 15th of April, did not come to hand till the 27th ultimo. I enclose a letter from Mr. Dumas to the President of Congress, and accompany the present with the Leyden Gazette and Gazette of France, from the date last sent you to the present time.

I have the honor to be, with high esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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abroad that they are pointing their preparations at us. The enclosed paper, No. 9, is the only colorable evidence of this which has come to my knowledge. I have proposed to Mr. Adams that if Mr. Lambe does not come either in the French or English packet, then (August 6) next expected, to send some person immediately to negotiate these treaties, on the presumption that Mr. Lambe's purpose has been changed. We shall still be at a loss for the instructions of which he is said to have been the bearer. I expect Mr. Adams's answer on this subject.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

PARIS, August 15, 1785.

SIR,—In the conversation which I had the honor of having with your Excellency, a few days ago, on the importance of placing, *at this time*, the commerce between France and America on the best footing possible, among other objects of this commerce, that of tobacco was mentioned, as susceptible of greater encouragement and advantage to the two nations. Always distrusting what I say in a language I speak so imperfectly, I will beg your permission to state, in English, the substance of what I had then the honor to observe, adding some more particular details for your consideration.

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I find the consumption of tobacco in France estimated at from fifteen to thirty millions of pounds. The most probable estimate, however, places it at twenty-four millions.

This costing eight sous the pound, delivered in a port of France, amounts to	9,600,000 livres.
Allow six sous a pound, as the average cost of the different manufactures	7,200,000
The revenue which the King derives from this, is something less than	30,000,000
Which would make the cost of the whole	46,800,000
But it is sold to the consumers at an average of three livres the pound	72,000 000
There remain, then, for the expenses of collection	25,200,000 livres.

This is within a sixth as much as the King receives, and so gives nearly one half for collecting the other. It would be presumption in me, a stranger, to suppose my numbers perfectly accurate. I have taken them from the best and most disinterested authorities I could find. Your Excellency will know how far they are wrong; and should you find them considerably wrong, yet I am persuaded you will find, after strictly correcting them, that the collection of this branch of the revenue still absorbs too much.

My apology for making these remarks will, I hope, be found in my wishes to improve the commerce between the two nations, and the interest which my own country will derive from this improvement. The monopoly of the purchase of tobacco in France

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discourages both the French and American merchant from bringing it here, and from taking in exchange the manufactures and productions of France. It is contrary to the spirit of trade, and to the dispositions of merchants, to carry a commodity to any market where but one person is allowed to buy it, and where, of course, that person fixes its price, which the seller must receive, or re-export his commodity, at the loss of his voyage thither. Experience accordingly shows, that they carry it to other markets, and that they take in exchange the merchandise of the place where they deliver it. I am misinformed, if France has not been furnished from a neighboring nation with considerable quantities of tobacco since the peace, and been obliged to pay there in coin, what might have been paid here in manufactures, had the French and American merchants brought the tobacco originally here. I suppose, too, that the purchases made by the Farmers General, in America, are paid for chiefly in coin, which coin is also remitted directly hence to England, and makes an important part of the balance supposed to be in favor of that nation against this. Should the Farmers General, by themselves, or by the company to whom they may commit the procuring these tobaccos from America, require, for the satisfaction of government on this head, the exportation of a proportion of merchandise in exchange for them, it would be an unpromising expedient. It would only commit the exports, as well as imports, between France and America, to a

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monopoly, which, being secure against rivals in the sale of the merchandise of France, would not be likely to sell at such moderate prices as might encourage its consumption there, and enable it to bear a competition with similar articles from other countries. I am persuaded this exportation of coin may be prevented, and that of commodities effected, by leaving both operations to the French and American merchants, instead of the Farmers General. They will import a sufficient quantity of tobacco, if they are allowed a perfect freedom in the sale; and they will receive in payment, wines, oils, brandies, and manufactures, instead of coin; forcing each other, by their competition, to bring tobaccos of the best quality; to give to the French manufacturer the full worth of his merchandise, and to sell to the American consumer at the lowest price they can afford; thus encouraging him to use, in preference, the merchandise of this country.

It is not necessary that this exchange should be favored by any loss of revenue to the King. I do not mean to urge anything which shall injure either his Majesty or his people. On the contrary, the measure I have the honor of proposing, will increase his revenue, while it places both the seller and buyer on a better footing. It is not for me to say, what system of collection may be best adapted to the organization of this government; nor whether any useful hints may be taken from the practice of that country, which has heretofore been the principal

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entrepôt for this commodity. Their system is simple and little expensive. The importer, there, pays the whole duty to the King; and as this would be inconvenient for him to do before he has sold his tobacco, he is permitted, on arrival, to deposit it in the King's warehouse, under the locks of the King's officer. As soon as he has sold it, he goes with the purchaser to the warehouse, the money is there divided between the King and him, to each his proportion, and the purchaser takes out the tobacco. The payment of the King's duty is thus ensured in ready money. What is the expense of its collection, I cannot say; but it certainly need not exceed six livres a hogshead of one thousand pounds. That government levies a higher duty on tobacco than is levied here. Yet so tempting and so valuable is the perfect liberty of sale, that the merchant carries it there, and finds his account in doing so.

If, by a simplification of the collection of the King's duty on tobacco, the cost of that collection can be reduced even to five per cent., or a million and a half, instead of twenty-five millions; the price to the consumer will be reduced from three to two livres the pound. For thus I calculate:

The cost, manufacture, and revenue, on twenty-four million pounds of tobacco being (as before stated)	46,800,000 livres.
Five per cent. on thirty millions of livres, expenses of collection	1,500,000
Give what the consumers would pay, being about two livres a pound	48,300,000
But they pay at present three livres a pound	72,000,000
The difference is	23,700,000

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The price, being thus reduced one-third, would be brought within the reach of a new and numerous circle of the people, who cannot, at present, afford themselves this luxury. The consumption, then, would probably increase, and perhaps, in the same if not a greater proportion, with the reduction of the price; that is to say, from twenty-four to thirty-six millions of pounds; and the King, continuing to receive twenty-five sous on the pound, as at present, would receive forty-five instead of thirty millions of livres, while his subjects would pay but two livres for an object which has heretofore cost them three. Or if, in event, the consumption were not to be increased, he would levy only forty-eight millions on his people, where seventy-two millions are now levied, and would leave twenty-four millions in their pockets, either to remain there, or to be levied in some other form, should the state of revenue require it. It will enable his subjects, also, to dispose of between nine and ten millions worth of their produce and manufactures, instead of sending nearly that sum annually, in coin, to enrich a neighboring nation.

I have heard two objections made to the suppression of this monopoly. 1. That it might increase the importation of tobacco in contraband. 2. That it would lessen the abilities of the Farmers General to make occasional loans of money to the public treasury. These objections will surely be better answered by those who are better acquainted than I am with the details and circumstances of the country. With

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respect to the first, however, I may observe, that contraband does not increase on lessening the temptations to it. It is now encouraged by those who engage in it being able to sell for sixty sous what cost but fourteen, leaving a gain of forty-six sous. When the price shall be reduced from sixty to forty sous, the gain will be but twenty-six, that is to say, a little more than one-half of what it is at present. It does not seem a natural consequence then, that contraband should be increased by reducing its gain nearly one-half. As to the second objection, if we suppose (for elucidation and without presuming to fix) the proportion of the farm on tobacco, at one-eighth of the whole mass farmed, the abilities of the Farmers General to lend, will be reduced one-eighth, that is, they can hereafter lend only seven millions, where heretofore they have lent eight. It is to be considered then, whether this eighth (or other proportion, whatever it be) is worth the annual sacrifice of twenty-four millions, or if a much smaller sacrifice to other moneyed men, will not produce the same loans of money in the ordinary way.

While the advantages of an increase of revenue to the crown, a diminution of impost on the people, and a payment in merchandise, instead of money, are conjectured as likely to result to France from a suppression of the monopoly on tobacco, we have also reason to hope some advantages on our part; and this hope alone could justify my entering into the present details. I do not expect this advantage

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will be by any augmentation of price. The other markets of Europe have too much influence on this article to admit any sensible augmentation of price to take place. But the advantage I principally expect is an increase of consumption. This will give us a vent for so much more, and, of consequence, find employment for so many more cultivators of the earth; and in whatever proportion it increases this production for us, in the same proportion will it procure additional vent for the merchandise of France, and employment for the hands which produce it. I expect, too, that by bringing our merchants here, they would procure a number of commodities in exchange, better in kind, and cheaper in price. It is with sincerity I add, that warm feelings are indulged in my breast by the further hope, that it would bind the two nations still closer in friendship, by binding them in interest. In truth, no two countries are better calculated for the exchanges of commerce. France wants rice, tobacco, potash, furs, and ship-timber. We want wines, brandies, oils, and manufactures. There is an affection, too, between the two people, which disposes them to favor one another. If they do not come together, then, to make the exchanges in their own ports, it shows there is some substantial obstructions in the way. We have had the benefit of too many proofs of his Majesty's friendly disposition towards the United States, and know too well his affectionate care of his own subjects, to doubt his willingness to

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remove these obstructions, if they can be unequivocally pointed out. It is for his wisdom to decide, whether the monopoly, which is the subject of this letter, be deservedly classed with the principal of these. It is a great comfort to me, too, that, in presenting this to the mind of his Majesty, your Excellency will correct my ideas where an insufficient knowledge of facts may have led me into error; and that, while the interests of the King and of his people are the first objects of your attention, an additional one will be presented by those dispositions toward us, which have heretofore so often befriended our nation.

I avail myself of this occasion to repeat the assurance of that high respect and esteem, with which I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO CAPTAIN JOHN PAUL JONES.

PARIS, August 17, 1785.

SIR,—Mine of the 13th informed you that I had written to the M. de Castries on the subject of Puchilberg's interference. Yesterday I received his answer dated the 12th. In that he says that he is informed by the Ordonneteur that he has not been able to get an authentic roll of the crew of the Alliance, and that, in the probable case of there having been some French subjects among them, it

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will be just that you should give security to repay their portions. I wrote to him this morning, that as you have obliged yourself to transmit the money to the treasury of the United States, it does not seem just to require you to be answerable for money which will be no longer within your power; that the repayment of such portions will be incumbent on Congress; that I will immediately solicit their orders to have all such claims paid by their banker here; and that, should any be presented before I receive their orders, I will undertake to direct the banker of the United States to pay them, that there may be no delay. I trust that this will remove the difficulty, and that it is the last which will be offered. The ultimate answer shall be communicated the moment I receive it. Having pledged myself for the claims which may be offered before I receive the orders of Congress, it is necessary to arm myself with the proper checks. Can you give me a roll of the crew, pointing out the French subjects? If not, can you recollect personally the French subjects, and name them to me, and the sums they are entitled to? If there were none such, yet the roll will be material, because I have no doubt that Puchilberg will excite claims upon me, either true or false.

I am, with much respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

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TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL,

PARIS, August 18, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of June the 22d, with a postscript of July the 14th. Yours of June the 27th came to hand the 23d of July, and that of July the 28th came to hand the 10th instant. The papers enclosed in the last shall be communicated to Mr. Adams. I see with extreme satisfaction and gratitude the friendly interposition of the court of Spain with the Emperor of Morocco on the subject of the brig Betsey, and I am persuaded it will produce the happiest effects in America. Those, who are intrusted with the public affairs there, are sufficiently sensible how essential it is for our interest to cultivate peace with Spain, and they will be pleased to see a corresponding disposition in that court. The late good office of emancipating a number of our countrymen from slavery is peculiarly calculated to produce a sensation among our people, and to dispose them to relish and adopt the pacific and friendly views of their leaders towards Spain. We hear nothing yet of Mr. Lambe. I have therefore lately proposed to Mr. Adams, that if he does not come in the French or English packet of this month, we will wait no longer. If he accedes to the proposition, you will be sure of hearing of, and, perhaps, of seeing some agent proceeding on that business. The immense sum, said to have been proposed on the part of Spain to Algiers, leaves us

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little hope of satisfying their avarice. It may happen, then, that the interests of Spain and America may call for a concert of proceedings against that State. The dispositions of the Emperor of Morocco give us better hopes there. May not the affairs of the Musquito coast, and our western ports, produce another instance of a common interest? Indeed, I meet this correspondence of interest in so many quarters, that I look with anxiety to the issue of Mr. Gardoqui's mission, hoping it will be a removal of the only difficulty at present subsisting between the two nations, or which is likely to arise.

Congress is not likely to adjourn this summer. They have purchased the Indian right of soil to about fifty millions of acres of land between the Ohio and lakes, and expected to make another purchase of an equal quantity. They have, in consequence, passed an ordinance for disposing of their lands, and I think a very judicious one. They propose to sell them at auction for not less than a dollar an acre, receiving their own certificates of debt as money. I am of opinion, all the certificates of our domestic debt will immediately be exchanged for land. Our foreign debt, in that case, will soon be discharged. New York and Rhode Island still refuse the impost. A general disposition is taking place to commit the whole management of our commerce to Congress. This has been much promoted by the interested policy of England, which, it was apparent, could not be counter-worked by the

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States separately. In the meantime, the other great towns are acceding to the proceedings of Boston for annihilating, in a great measure, their commercial connections with Great Britain. I will send the cypher by a gentleman, who goes from here to Madrid about a month hence. It shall be a copy of the one I gave Mr. Adams. The letter of Don Gomez has been delivered at the hotel of the Portuguese ambassador, who is, however, in the country.

I am, with much respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

TO MRS. TRIST.

PARIS, August 18, 1785.

DEAR MADAM,—

* * * * * * *

I am much pleased with the people of this country. The roughness of the human mind is so thoroughly rubbed off with them, that it seems as if one might glide through a whole life among them without a jostle. Perhaps, too, their manners may be the best calculated for happiness to a people in their situation, but I am convinced they fall far short of effecting a happiness so temperate, so uniform, and so lasting as is generally enjoyed with us. The domestic bonds here are absolutely done away, and where can their compensation be found? Perhaps they may catch some moments of transport above the level of the ordinary tranquil joy we experience,

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but they are separated by long intervals, during which all the passions are at sea without rudder or compass. Yet, fallacious as the pursuits of happiness are, they seem on the whole to furnish the most effectual abstraction from a contemplation of the hardness of their government. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how so good a people, with so good a King, so well-disposed rulers in general, so genial a climate, so fertile a soil, should be rendered so ineffectual for producing human happiness by one single curse,—that of a bad form of government. But it is a fact, in spite of the mildness of their governors, the people are ground to powder by the vices of the form of government. Of twenty millions of people supposed to be in France, I am of opinion there are nineteen millions more wretched, more accursed in every circumstance of human existence than the most conspicuously wretched individual of the whole United States. I beg your pardon for getting into politics. I will add only one sentiment more of that character, that is, nourish peace with their persons, but war against their manners. Every step we take towards the adoption of their manners is a step to perfect misery. I pray you to write to me often. Do not you turn politician too; but write me all the small news—the news about persons and about states; tell me who dies, that I may meet these disagreeable events in detail, and not all at once when I return; who marry, who hang themselves because they cannot marry, &c.

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Present me in the most friendly terms to Mrs. House and Browse, and be assured of the sincerity with which I am, dear Madam,

Your affectionate friend and servant.

TO PETER CARR.

PARIS, August 19, 1785.

DEAR PETER,—I received, by Mr. Mazzei, your letter of April the 20th. I am much mortified to hear that you have lost so much time; and that, when you arrived in Williamsburg, you were not at all advanced from what you were when you left Monticello. Time now begins to be precious to you. Every day you lose will retard a day your entrance on that public stage whereon you may begin to be useful to yourself. However, the way to repair the loss is to improve the future time. I trust, that with your dispositions, even the acquisition of science is a pleasing employment. I can assure you, that the possession of it is, what (next to an honest heart) will above all things render you dear to your friends, and give you fame and promotion in your own country. When your mind shall be well improved with science, nothing will be necessary to place you in the highest points of view, but to pursue the interests of your country, the interests of your friends, and your own interests also, with the purest integrity, the most chaste honor. The defect of these virtues can never be made up by all the other acquirements of

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body and mind. Make these, then, your first object. Give up money, give up fame, give up science, give the earth itself and all it contains, rather than do an immoral act. And never suppose, that in any possible situation, or under any circumstances, it is best for you to do a dishonorable thing, however slightly so it may appear to you. Whenever you are to do a thing, though it can never be known but to yourself, ask yourself how you would act were all the world looking at you, and act accordingly. Encourage all your virtuous dispositions, and exercise them whenever an opportunity arises; being assured that they will gain strength by exercise, as a limb of the body does, and that exercise will make them habitual. From the practice of the purest virtue, you may be assured you will derive the most sublime comforts in every moment of life, and in the moment of death. If ever you find yourself environed with difficulties and perplexing circumstances, out of which you are at a loss how to extricate yourself, do what is right, and be assured that that will extricate you the best out of the worst situations. Though you cannot see, when you take one step, what will be the next, yet follow truth, justice, and plain dealing, and never fear their leading you out of the labyrinth, in the easiest manner possible. The knot which you thought a Gordian one, will untie itself before you. Nothing is so mistaken as the supposition, that a person is to extricate himself from a difficulty, by intrigue, by chicanery, by dissimulation, by trimming,

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by an untruth, by an injustice. This increases the difficulties tenfold; and those, who pursue these methods, get themselves so involved at length, that they can turn no way but their infamy becomes more exposed. It is of great importance to set a resolution, not to be shaken, never to tell an untruth. There is no vice so mean, so pitiful, so contemptible; and he who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world's believing him. This falsehood of the tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions.

An honest heart being the first blessing, a knowing head is the second. It is time for you now to begin to be choice in your reading; to begin to pursue a regular course in it; and not to suffer yourself to be turned to the right or left by reading anything out of that course. I have long ago digested a plan for you, suited to the circumstances in which you will be placed. This I will detail to you, from time to time, as you advance. For the present, I advise you to begin a course of ancient history, reading everything in the original and not in translations. First read Goldsmith's history of Greece. This will give you a digested view of that field. Then take up ancient history in the detail, reading the following books, in the following order: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophontis Anabasis, Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Justin. This shall form the

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first stage of your historical reading, and is all I need mention to you now. The next will be of Roman history.[1] From that, we will come down to modern history. In Greek and Latin poetry, you have read or will read at school, Virgil, Terence, Horace, Anacreon, Theocritus, Homer, Euripides, Sophocles. Read also Milton's "Paradise Lost," Shakspeare, Ossian, Pope's and Swift's works, in order to form your style in your own language. In morality, read Epictetus, Xenophontis Memorabilia, Plato's Socratic dialogues, Cicero's philosophies, Antoninus, and Seneca. In order to assure a certain progress in this reading, consider what hours you have free from the school and the exercises of the school. Give about two of them, every day, to exercise; for health must not be sacrificed to learning. A strong body makes the mind strong. As to the species of exercise, I advise the gun. While this gives a moderate exercise to the body, it gives boldness, enterprise, and independence to the mind. Games played with the ball, and others of that nature, are too violent for the body, and stamp no character on the mind. Let your gun, therefore, be the constant companion of your walks. Never think of taking a book with you. The object of walking is to relax the mind. You should therefore not permit yourself even to think while you walk; but divert yourself by the objects surrounding you. Walking is the best possible exercise. Habituate yourself to walk very far. The

[1] Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Cicero's epistles, Suetonius, Tacitus, Gibbon.

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Europeans value themselves on having subdued the horse to the uses of man; but I doubt whether we have not lost more than we have gained, by the use of this animal. No one has occasioned so much the degeneracy of the human body. An Indian goes on foot nearly as far in a day, for a long journey, as an enfeebled white does on his horse; and he will tire the best horses. There is no habit you will value so much as that of walking far without fatigue. I would advise you to take your exercise in the afternoon: not because it is the best time for exercise, for certainly it is not; but because it is the best time to spare from your studies; and habit will soon reconcile it to health, and render it nearly as useful as if you gave to that the more precious hours of the day. A little walk of half an hour, in the morning, when you first rise, is advisable also. It shakes off sleep, and produces other good effects in the animal economy. Rise at a fixed and an early hour, and go to bed at a fixed and early hour also. Sitting up late at night is injurious to the health, and not useful to the mind. Having ascribed proper hours to exercise, divide what remain (I mean of your vacant hours) into three portions. Give the principal to History, the other two, which should be shorter, to Philosophy and Poetry. Write to me once every month or two, and let me know the progress you make. Tell me in what manner you employ every hour in the day. The plan I have proposed for you is adapted to your present situation only. When

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that is changed, I shall propose a corresponding change of plan. I have ordered the following books to be sent to you from London, to the care of Mr. Madison: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon's Hellenics, Anabasis and Memorabilia, Cicero's works, Baretti's Spanish and English Dictionary, Martin's Philosophical Grammar, and Martin's Philosophia Britannica. I will send you the following from hence: Bezout's Mathematics, De la Lande's Astronomy, Muschenbrock's Physics, Quintus Curtius, Justin, a Spanish Grammar, and some Spanish books. You will observe that Martin, Bezout, De la Lande, and Muschenbrock, are not in the preceding plan. They are not to be opened till you go to the University. You are now, I expect, learning French. You must push this; because the books which will be put into your hands when you advance into Mathematics, Natural philosophy, Natural history, &c., will be mostly French, these sciences being better treated by the French than the English writers. Our future connection with Spain renders that the most necessary of the modern languages, after the French. When you become a public man, you may have occasion for it, and the circumstance of your possessing that language, may give you a preference over other candidates. I have nothing further to add for the present, but husband well your time, cherish your instructors, strive to make everybody your friend; and be assured that nothing will be so pleasing as your success to, Dear Peter,

Yours affectionately.

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TO JOHN PAGE.

PARIS, August 20 1785.

DEAR PAGE,—I received your friendly letter of April the 28th, by Mr. Mazzei, on the 22d of July. That of the month before, by Monsieur le Croix, has not come to hand. This correspondence is grateful to some of my warmest feelings, as the friendships of my youth are those which adhere closest to me, and in which I most confide. My principal happiness is now in the retrospect of life.

I thank you for your notes of your operations on the Pennsylvania boundary. I am in hopes that from yourself, Madison, Rittenhouse, or Hutchings, I shall receive a chart of the line as actually run. It will be a great present to me. I think Hutchings promised to send it to me. I have been much pleased to hear you had it in contemplation, to endeavor to establish Rittenhouse in our College. This would be an immense acquisition, and would draw youth to it from every part of the continent. You will do much more honor to our society, on reviving it, by placing him at its head, than so useless a member as I should be. I have been so long diverted from this my favorite line, and that, too, without acquiring an attachment to my adopted one, that I am become a mongrel, of no decided order, unowned by any, and incapable of serving any. I should feel myself out of my true place too, to stand before McLurg. But why withdraw yourself? You

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have more zeal, more application, and more constant attention to the subjects proper to the society, and can, therefore, serve them best.

The affair of the Emperor and Dutch is settled, though not signed. The particulars have not yet transpired. That of the Bavarian exchange is dropped, and his views on Venice defeated. The alliance of Russia with Venice, to prevent his designs in that quarter, and that of the Hanoverian Elector with the King of Prussia and other members of the Germanic body, to prevent his acquisition of Bavaria, leave him in a solitary situation. In truth, he has lost much reputation by his late manœuvres. He is a restless, ambitious character, aiming at everything, persevering in nothing, taking up designs without calculating the force which will be opposed to him, and dropping them on the appearance of firm opposition. He has some just views, and much activity. The only quarter in which the peace of Europe seems at present capable of being disturbed, is on that of the Porte. It is believed that the Emperor and Empress have schemes in contemplation, for driving the Turks out of Europe. Were this with a view to re-establish the native Greeks in the sovereignty of their own country, I could wish them success, and to see driven from that delightful country a set of barbarians, with whom an opposition to all science is an article of religion. The modern Greek is not yet so far departed from its ancient model, but that we might still hope to see the language of Homer

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and Demosthenes flow with purity, from the lips of a free and ingenious people. But these powers have in object to divide the country between themselves. This is only to substitute one set of barbarians for another, breaking, at the same time, the balance among the European powers. You have been told, with truth, that the Emperor of Morocco has shown a disposition to enter into treaty with us; but not truly, that Congress has not attended to his advances, and thereby disgusted him. It is long since they took measures to meet his advances. But some unlucky incidents have delayed their effect. His dispositions continue good. As a proof of this, he has lately released freely, and clothed well, the crew of an American brig he took last winter; the only vessel ever taken from us by any of the States of Barbary. But what is the English of these good dispositions? Plainly this; he is ready to receive us into the number of his tributaries. What will be the amount of tribute, remains yet to be known, but it probably will not be as small as you may have conjectured. It will surely be more than a free people ought to pay to a power owning only four or five frigates, under twenty-two guns: he has not a port into which a larger vessel can enter. The Algerines possess fifteen or twenty frigates, from that size up to fifty guns. Disinclination on their part, has lately broken off a treaty between Spain and them, whereon they were to have received a million of dollars, besides great presents in naval stores.

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What sum they intend we shall pay, I cannot say. Then follow Tunis and Tripoli. You will probably find the tribute to all these powers make such a proportion of the federal taxes, as that every man will feel them sensibly, when he pays those taxes. The question is, whether their peace or war will be cheapest? But it is a question which should be addressed to our honor, as well as our avarice. Nor does it respect us as to these pirates only, but as to the nations of Europe. If we wish our commerce to be free and uninsulted, we must let these nations see, that we have an energy which at present they disbelieve. The low opinion they entertain of our powers, cannot fail to involve us soon, in a naval war.

I shall send you with this, if I can, and if not, then by the first good conveyance, the "Connoissance des Tems" for the years 1786 and 1787, being all as yet published. You will find in these the tables for the planet Herschel, as far as the observations hitherto made, admit them to be calculated. You will see, also, that Herschel was only the first astronomer who discovered it to be a planet, and not the first who saw it. Mayer saw it in the year 1756, and placed it in the catalogue of his zodiacal stars, supposing it to be such. A Prussian astronomer, in the year 1781, observed that the 964th star of Mayer's catalogue was missing; and the calculations now prove that at the time Mayer saw his 964th star, the planet Herschel should have been precisely in the place where he noted that star. I shall send you also a

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little publication here, called the "Bibliothéque Physico-œconomique." It will communicate all the improvements and new discoveries in the arts and sciences, made in Europe for some years past. I shall be happy to hear from you often. Details, political and literary, and even of the small history of our country, are the most pleasing communications possible. Present me affectionately to Mrs. Page, and to your family, in the members of which, though unknown to me, I feel an interest on account of their parents. Believe me to be with warm esteem, dear Page, your sincere friend and servant.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

PARIS, August 22, 1785.

SIR,—I was honored yesterday with your Excellency's letter of June the 16th, enclosing the resolution of Assembly relative to the bust of the M. de La Fayette. I shall render cheerfully any services I can in aid of Mr. Barclay for carrying this resolution into effect. The M. de La Fayette being to pass into Germany and Prussia, it was thought proper to take the model of his bust in *plaister* before his departure. Monsieur Houdon was engaged to do it, and did it accordingly. So far Mr. Barclay had thought himself authorized to go in consequence of orders formerly received. You will be so good as to instruct me as to the moneys hereafter to be remitted to me, whether I am to apply them solely to the statue of

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General Washington, or to that, and the Marquis's bust in common, as shall be necessary. Supposing you wish to know the application of the moneys remitted from time to time, I state hereon an account thereof so far as I am able at present. Before your receipt of this letter I am in hopes mine of July 11th, by Monsieur Houdon, will have come to your hands; in that I enclosed you a copy of the contract with him.

I have the honor to be, with due respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant, TH: JEFFERSON.

TO JOHN JAY.

(*Private.*)

PARIS, August 23, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I shall sometimes ask your permission to write you letters, not official, but private. The present is of this kind, and is occasioned by the question proposed in yours of June the 14th; "whether it would be useful to us, to carry all our own productions, or none?"

Were we perfectly free to decide this question, I should reason as follows. We have now lands enough to employ an infinite number of people in their cultivation. Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests, by the most lasting bonds. As long, therefore, as they can find employment in this line,

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I would not convert them into mariners, artisans, or anything else. But our citizens will find employment in this line, till their numbers, and of course their productions, become too great for the demand, both internal and foreign. This is not the case as yet, and probably will not be for a considerable time. As soon as it is, the surplus of hands must be turned to something else. I should then, perhaps, wish to turn them to the sea in preference to manufactures; because, comparing the characters of the two classes, I find the former the most valuable citizens. I consider the class of artificers as the panders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned. However, we are not free to decide this question on principles of theory only. Our people are decided in the opinion, that it is necessary for us to take a share in the occupation of the ocean, and their established habits induce them to require that the sea be kept open to them, and that that line of policy be pursued, which will render the use of that element to them as great as possible. I think it a duty in those entrusted with the administration of their affairs, to conform themselves to the decided choice of their constituents; and that therefore, we should, in every instance, preserve an equality of right to them in the transportation of commodities, in the right of fishing, and in the other uses of the sea.

But what will be the consequence? Frequent wars without a doubt. Their property will be vio-

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lated on the sea, and in foreign ports, their persons will be insulted, imprisoned, &c., for pretended debts, contracts, crimes, contraband, &c., &c. These insults must be resented, even if we had no feelings, yet to prevent their eternal repetition; or, in other words, our commerce on the ocean and in other countries, must be paid for by frequent war. The justest dispositions possible in ourselves, will not secure us against it. It would be necessary that all other nations were just also. Justice indeed, on our part, will save us from those wars which would have been produced by a contrary disposition. But how can we prevent those produced by the wrongs of other nations? By putting ourselves in a condition to punish them. Weakness provokes insult and injury, while a condition to punish, often prevents them. This reasoning leads to the necessity of some naval force; that being the only weapon by which we can reach an enemy. I think it to our interest to punish the first insult; because an insult unpunished is the parent of many others. We are not, at this moment, in a condition to do it, but we should put ourselves into it, as soon as possible. If a war with England should take place, it seems to me that the first thing necessary would be a resolution to abandon the carrying trade, because we cannot protect it. Foreign nations must, in that case, be invited to bring us what we want, and to take our productions in their own bottoms. This alone could prevent the loss of those productions to us, and the

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acquisition of them to our enemy. Our seamen might be employed in depredations on their trade. But how dreadfully we shall suffer on our coasts, if we have no force on the water, former experience has taught us. Indeed, I look forward with horror to the very possible case of war with an European power, and think there is no protection against them, but from the possession of some force on the sea. Our vicinity to their West India possessions, and to the fisheries, is a bridle which a small naval force, on our part, would hold in the mouths of the most powerful of these countries. I hope our land office will rid us of our debts, and that our first attention then, will be, to the beginning a naval force of some sort. This alone can countenance our people as carriers on the water, and I suppose them to be determined to continue such.

I wrote you two public letters on the 14th instant, since which I have received yours of July the 13th. I shall always be pleased to receive from you, in a private way, such communications as you might not choose to put into a public letter.

I have the honor to be, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, August 28, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you on the 5th of July, by Mr. Franklin, and on the 12th of the same month,

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by Monsieur Houdon. Since that date, yours of June the 16th, by Mazzei, has been received. Everything looks like peace here. The settlement between the Emperor and the Dutch is not yet published, but it is believed to be agreed on. Nothing is done, as yet, between him and the Porte. He is much wounded by the confederation of several of the Germanic body, at the head of which is the King of Prussia, and to which the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, is believed to accede. The object is to preserve the constitution of that empire. It shows that these princes entertain serious jealousies of the ambition of the Emperor, and this will very much endanger the election of his nephew as King of the Romans. A late *Arret* of this court against the admission of British manufactures produces a great sensation in England. I wish it may produce a disposition there to receive our commerce in all their dominions, on advantageous terms. This is the only balm which can heal the wounds that it has received. It is but too true, that that country furnished markets for three-fourths of the exports of the eight northern-most States. A truth not proper to be spoken of, but which should influence our proceedings with them.

The July French packet having arrived without bringing any news of Mr. Lambe, if the English one of the same month be also arrived, without news of him, I expect Mr. Adams will concur with me in sending some other person to treat with the Barbary

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States. Mr. Barclay is willing to go, and I have proposed him to Mr. Adams, but have not yet received his answer. The peace expected between Spain and Algiers, will probably not take place. It is said, the former was to have given a million of dollars. Would it not be prudent to send a minister to Portugal? Our commerce with that country is very important; perhaps more so than with any other country in Europe. It is possible, too, that they might permit our whaling vessels to refresh in Brazil, or give some other indulgences in America. The lethargic character of their ambassador here gives a very unhopeful aspect to a treaty on this ground. I lately spoke with him on the subject, and he has promised to interest himself in obtaining an answer from his court.

I have waited to see what was the pleasure of Congress, as to the secretaryship of my office here; that is, to see whether they proposed to appoint a secretary of legation, or leave me to appoint a private secretary. Colonel Humphreys' occupation in the despatches and records of the matters which relate to the general commissions, does not afford him leisure to aid me in my office, were I entitled to ask that aid. In the meantime, the long papers, which often accompany the communications between the ministers here, and myself, and the other business of the office, absolutely require a scribe. I shall, therefore, on Mr. Short's return from the Hague, appoint him my private secretary, till Congress shall

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think proper to signify their pleasure. The salary allowed Mr. Franklin in the same office, was one thousand dollars a year. I shall presume that Mr. Short may draw the same allowance from the funds of the United States here. As soon as I shall have made this appointment, I shall give official notice of it to Mr. Jay, that Congress may, if they disapprove it, say so.

I am much pleased with your land ordinance, and think it improved from the first, in the most material circumstances. I had mistaken the object of the division of the lands among the States. I am sanguine in my expectations of lessening our debts by this fund, and have expressed my expectations to the minister and others here. I see by the public papers, you have adopted the dollar as your money unit. In the arrangement of coins I proposed, I ought to have inserted a gold coin of five dollars, which, being within two shillings of the value of a guinea, would be very convenient.

The English papers are so incessantly repeating their lies about the tumults, the anarchy, the bankruptcies and distresses of America, that these ideas prevail very generally in Europe. At a large table where I dined the other day, a gentleman from Switzerland expressed his apprehensions for the fate of Dr. Franklin, as he said he had been informed, that he would be received with stones by the people, who were generally dissatisfied with the Revolution, and incensed against all those who had assisted in

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bringing it about. I told him his apprehensions were just, and that the people of America would probably salute Dr. Franklin with the same stones they had thrown at the Marquis Fayette. The reception of the Doctor is an object of very general attention, and will weigh in Europe, as an evidence of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of America, with their Revolution. As you are to be in Williamsburg early in November, this is the last letter I shall write you till about that time.

I am, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 30, 1785.

SIR,—I had the honor of writing to you on the 14th instant, by a Mr. Cannon of Connecticut, who was to sail in the packet. Since that date, yours of July 13th has come to hand. The times for the sailing of the packets being somewhat deranged, I avail myself of a conveyance for the present, by the Messrs. Fitzhughs of Virginia, who expect to land at Philadelphia.

I enclose you a correspondence which has taken place between the Marechal de Castries, minister of the Marine, and myself. It is on the subject of the prize money due to the officers and crew of the Alliance, for prizes taken in Europe, under the command of Captain Jones. That officer has been here,

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under the direction of Congress, near two years, soliciting the liquidation and payment of that money. Infinite delays had retarded the liquidation till the month of June. It was expected, when the liquidation was announced to be completed, that the money was to be received. The M. de Castries doubted the authority of Captain Jones to receive it, and wrote to me for information. I wrote him the letter dated July the 10th, which seemed to clear away that difficulty. Another arose. A Mr. Puchilberg presented powers to receive the money. I wrote, then, the letter of August the 3d, and received that of the M. de Castries, of August the 12th, acknowledging he was satisfied as to this difficulty, but announcing another; to wit, that possibly some French subjects might have been on board the Alliance, and, therefore, that Captain Jones ought to give security for the repayment of their portions. Captain Jones had before told me there was not a Frenchman on board that vessel, but the Captain. I inquired of Mr. Barclay. He told me he was satisfied there was not one. Here then, was a mere possibility, a shadow of a right, opposed to a certain, to a substantial one which existed in the mass of the crew, and which was likely to be delayed; for it was not to be expected that Captain Jones could, in a strange country, find the security required. These difficulties I suppose to have been conjured up, one after another, by Mr. Puchilberg, who wanted to get hold of the money. I saw but one

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way to cut short these everlasting delays, which were ruining the officer soliciting the payment of the money, and keeping our seamen out of what they had hardly fought for, years ago. This was, to undertake to ask an order from Congress, for the payment of any French claimants by their banker in Paris; and, in the meantime, to undertake to order such payment, should any such claimant prove his title, before the pleasure of Congress should be made known to me. I consulted with Mr. Barclay who seemed satisfied I might venture this undertaking, because no such claim could be presented. I therefore wrote the letter of August the 17th, and received that of August the 26th, finally closing this tedious business. Should what I have done not meet the approbation of Congress, I would pray their immediate sense, because it is not probable that the whole of this money will be paid so hastily, but that their orders may arrive in time, to stop a sufficiency for any French claimants who may possibly exist. The following paragraph of a letter from Captain Jones, dated L'Orient, August the 25th, 1785, further satisfies me that my undertaking amounted to nothing in fact. He says, "it is impossible that any legal demands should be made on you for French subjects, in consequence of your engagement to the Marechal. The Alliance was manned in America, and I never heard of any persons having served on board that frigate, who had been born in France, except the Captain, who,

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as I was informed, had, in America, abjured the church of Rome, and been naturalized." Should Congress approve what I have done, I will then ask their resolution for the payment, by their banker here, of any such claims as may be properly authenticated, and will moreover pray of you an authentic roll of the crew of the Alliance, with the sums to be allowed to each person; on the subject of which roll, Captain Jones, in the letter above mentioned, says, "I carried a set of the rolls with me to America, and, before I embarked in the French fleet at Boston, I put them into the hands of Mr. Secretary Livingston, and they were sealed up among the papers of his office when I left America." I think it possible that Mr. Puchilberg may excite claims. Should any name be offered which shall not be found on the roll, it will be a sufficient disproof of the pretension. Should it be found on the roll, it will remain to prove the identity of person, and to inquire if payment may not have been made in America. . I conjecture, from the journals of Congress of June 2d, that Landais, who, I believe, was the Captain, may be in America. As his portion of the prize may be considerable, I hope it will be settled in America, where only it can be known whether any advances have been made him.

The person at the head of the post office here says, he proposed to Dr. Franklin a convention to facilitate the passage of letters through their office and ours, and that he delivered a draught of the con-

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vention proposed, that it might be sent to Congress. I think it possible he may be mistaken in this, as, on my mentioning it to Dr. Franklin, he did not recollect any such draught having been put into his hands. An answer, however, is expected by them. I mention it, that Congress may decide whether they will make any convention on the subject, and on what principle. The one proposed here was, that, for letters passing hence into America, the French postage should be collected by our post officers, and paid every six months, and for letters coming from America here, the American postage should be collected by the post officers here, and paid to us in like manner. A second plan, however, presents itself; that is, to suppose the sums to be thus collected, on each side, will be equal, or so nearly equal, that the balance will not pay for the trouble of keeping accounts, and for the little bickerings that the settlement of accounts, and demands of the balances, may occasion; and therefore, to make an exchange of postage. This would better secure our harmony; but I do not know that it would be agreed to here. If not, the other might then be agreed to.

I have waited hitherto, supposing that Congress might, possibly, appoint a secretary to the legation here, or signify their pleasure that I should appoint a private secretary, to aid me in my office. The communication between the ministers and myself, requiring often that many and long papers should be copied, and that, in a shorter time than could be

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done by myself, were I otherwise unoccupied, other correspondences and proceedings, of all which copies must be retained, and still more the necessity of having some confidential person, who, in case of any accident to myself, might be authorized to take possession of the instructions, letters, and other papers of the office, have rendered it absolutely necessary for me to appoint a private secretary. Colonel Humphreys finds full occupation, and often more than he can do, in writing and recording the despatches and proceedings of the general commissions. I shall, therefore, appoint Mr. Short, on his return from the Hague, with an express condition, that the appointment shall cease whenever Congress shall think proper to make any other arrangement. He will, of course, expect the allowance heretofore made to the private secretaries of the ministers, which, I believe, has been a thousand dollars a year.

An improvement is made here in the construction of muskets, which it may be interesting to Congress to know, should they at any time propose to procure any. It consists in the making every part of them so exactly alike, that what belongs to any one, may be used for every other musket in the magazine. The government here has examined and approved the method, and is establishing a large manufactory for the purpose of putting it into execution. As yet, the inventor has only completed the lock of the musket, on this plan. He will proceed immediately

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to have the barrel, stock, and other parts, executed in the same way. Supposing it might be useful in the United States, I went to the workman. He presented me the parts of fifty locks taken to pieces, and arranged in compartments. I put several together myself, taking pieces at hazard as they came to hand, and they fitted in the most perfect manner. The advantages of this, when arms need repair, are evident. He effects it by tools of his own contrivance, which, at the same time, abridge the work, so that he thinks he shall be able to furnish the musket two livres cheaper than the common price. But it will be two or three years before he will be able to furnish any quantity. I mention it now, as it may have an influence on the plan for furnishing our magazines with this arm.

Everything in Europe remains as when I wrote you last. The peace between Spain and Algiers has the appearance of being broken off. The French packet having arrived without Mr. Lambe, or any news of him, I await Mr. Adams's acceding to the proposition mentioned in my last. I send you the gazettes of Leyden and France to this date, and have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

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TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, September 1, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you by Monsieur de Doradour was dated May the 11th. Since that, I have received yours of January the 22d, with six copies of the revisal, and that of April the 27th, by Mr. Mazzei.

All is quiet here. The Emperor and Dutch have certainly agreed, though they have not published their agreement. Most of his schemes in Germany must be postponed, if they are not prevented by the confederacy of many of the Germanic body, at the head of which is the King of Prussia, and to which the Elector of Hanover is supposed to have acceded. The object of the league is to preserve the members of the empire in their present state. I doubt whether the jealousy entertained of this prince, and which is so fully evidenced by this league, may not defeat the election of his nephew to be King of the Romans, and thus produce an instance of breaking the lineal succession. Nothing is as yet done between him and the Turks. If anything is produced in that quarter, it will not be for this year. The court of Madrid has obtained the delivery of the crew of the brig Betsey, taken by the Emperor of Morocco. The Emperor had treated them kindly, new clothed them, and delivered them to the Spanish minister, who sent them to Cadiz. This is the only American vessel ever taken by the Barbary States. The Emperor

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continues to give proofs of his desire to be in friendship with us, or, in other words, of receiving us into the number of his tributaries. Nothing further need be feared from him. I wish the Algerines may be as easily dealt with. I fancy the peace expected between them and Spain is not likely to take place. I am well informed that the late proceedings in America, have produced a wonderful sensation in England in our favor. I mean the disposition which seems to be becoming general, to invest Congress with the regulation of our commerce, and, in the meantime, the measures taken to defeat the avidity of the British government grasping at our carrying business. I can add with truth, that it was not till these symptoms appeared in America that I have been able to discover the smallest token of respect towards the United States in any part of Europe. There was an enthusiasm towards us all over Europe at the moment of the peace. The torrent of lies published unremittingly in every day's London paper first made an impression and produced a coolness. The republication of these lies in most of the papers of Europe, (done probably by authority of the governments to discourage emigrations,) carried them home to the belief of every mind. They supposed everything in America was anarchy, tumult, and civil war. The reception of the Marquis Fayette gave a check to these ideas. The late proceedings seem to be producing a decisive vibration in our favor. I think it possible that England may ply

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before them. It is a nation which nothing but views of interest can govern. If they produce us good there, they will here also. The defeat of the Irish propositions is also in our favor.

I have at length made up the purchase of books for you as far as it can be done at present. The objects which I have not yet been able to get I shall continue to seek for. Those purchased are packed this morning in two trunks, and you have the catalogue and prices herein enclosed. The future charges of transportation shall be carried into the next bill. The amount of the present is 1154 livres 13 sous, which, reckoning the French crown of six livres at six shillings and eight pence Virginia money, is £64, 3*s*., which sum you will be so good as to keep in your hands, to be used occasionally in the education of my nephews when the regular resources disappoint you. To the same use I would pray you to apply twenty-five guineas which I have lent the two Messrs. Fitzhughs of Marmion, and which I have desired them to repay into your hands. You will of course deduct the price of the revisals, and of any other articles you may have been so kind as to pay for me. Greek and Roman authors are dearer here than I believe anywhere in the world. Nobody here reads them, wherefore they are not reprinted. Don Ulloa, in the original, is not to be found. The collection of tracts on the economies of different nations we cannot find, nor Amelot's travels into China. I shall send these two trunks of books to

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Havre, there to wait a conveyance to America; for as to the fixing the packets there, it is as uncertain as ever. The other articles you mention shall be procured as far as they can be. Knowing that some of them would be better got in London, I commissioned Mr. Short, who was going there, to get them. He has not yet returned. They will be of such a nature as that I can get some gentleman who may be going to America to take them in his portmanteau. Le Maire being now able to stand on his legs, there will be no necessity for your advancing him the money I desired, if it is not already done. I am anxious to hear from you on the subject of my Notes on Virginia. I have been obliged to give so many of them here that I fear their getting published. I have received an application from the Directors of the public buildings, to procure them a plan for their capitol. I shall send them one taken from the best morsel of ancient architecture now remaining. It has obtained the approbation of fifteen or sixteen centuries, and is therefore preferable to any design which might be newly contrived. It will give more room, be more convenient, and cost less, than the plan they sent me. Pray encourage them to wait for it, and to execute it. It will be superior in beauty to anything in America, and not inferior to anything in the world. It is very simple. Have you a copying press? If you have not, you should get one. Mine (exclusive of paper, which costs a guinea a ream) has cost me

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about fourteen guineas. I would give ten times that sum to have had it from the date of the stamp act. I hope you will be so good as to continue your communications, both of the great and small kind, which are equally useful to me. Be assured of the sincerity with which I am, dear Sir,

Your friend and servant.

TO MESSRS. DUMAS AND SHORT.

PARIS, September 1, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—I have been duly honored with the receipt of your separate letters of August 23d, and should sooner have returned an answer; but that as you had written also to Mr. Adams, I thought it possible I might receive his sentiments on the subject in time for the post. Not thinking it proper to lose the occasion of the post, I have concluded to communicate to you my separate sentiments, which you will of course pay attention to only so far as they may concur with what you shall receive from Mr. Adams.

On a review of our letters to the Baron de Thulemeyer, I do not find that we had proposed that the treaty should be in two columns, the one English, and the other what he should think proper. We certainly intended to have proposed it. We had agreed together that it should be an article of system with us, and the omission of it in this instance has been accidental. My own opinion, therefore, is,

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that to avoid the appearance of urging new propositions when everything appeared to be arranged, we should agree to consider the French column as the original, if the Baron de Thulemeyer thinks himself bound to insist on it; but, if the practice of his court will admit of the execution in the two languages, each to be considered as equally original, it would be very pleasing to me, as it will accommodate it to our views, relieve us from the embarrassment of this precedent, which may be urged against us on other occasions, and be more agreeable to our country, where the French language is spoken by very few. This method will also be attended with the advantage, that if any expression in any part of the treaty is equivocal in the one language, its true sense will be known by the corresponding passage in the other.

The errors of the copyist in the French column you will correct of course.

I have the honor to be, with very high esteem, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, September 4, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—On receipt of your favors of August the 18th and 23d, I conferred with Mr. Barclay on the measures necessary to be taken, to set our treaty with the piratical States into motion, through his

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agency. Supposing that we should begin with the Emperor of Morocco, a letter to the Emperor and instructions to Mr. Barclay, seemed necessary. I have therefore sketched such outlines for these, as appear to me to be proper. You will be so good as to detract, add to, or alter them as you please, to return such as you approve under your signature, to which I will add mine. A person understanding English, French, and Italian, and at the same time meriting confidence, was not to be met with here. Colonel Franks, understanding the two first languages perfectly, and a little Spanish instead of Italian, occurred to Mr. Barclay as the fittest person he could employ for a secretary. We think his allowance (exclusive of his travelling expenses and his board, which will be paid by Mr. Barclay in common with his own) should be between one hundred, and one hundred and fifty guineas a year. Fix it where you please, between these limits. What is said in the instructions to Mr. Barclay as to his own allowance, was proposed by himself. My idea as to the partition of the whole sum to which we are limited (eighty thousand dollars), was, that one half of it should be kept in reserve for the Algerines. They certainly possess more than half of the whole power of the piratical States. I thought then, that Morocco might claim the half of the remainder, that is to say, one-fourth of the whole. For this reason, in the instructions, I propose twenty thousand dollars as the limit of the expenses of the Morocco

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treaty. Be so good as to think of it, and make it what you please. I should be more disposed to enlarge than abridge it, on account of their neighborhood to our Atlantic trade. I did not think that these papers should be trusted through the post office, and, therefore, as Colonel Franks is engaged in the business, he comes with them. Passing by the diligence, the whole expense will not exceed twelve or fourteen guineas. I suppose we are bound to avail ourselves of the co-operation of France. I will join you, therefore, in any letter you think proper to write to the Count de Vergennes. Would you think it expedient to write to Mr. Carmichael, to interest the interposition of the Spanish court? I will join you in anything of this kind you will originate. In short, be so good as to supply whatever you may think necessary. With respect to the money, Mr. Jay's information to you was, that it was to be drawn from Holland. It will rest, therefore, with you, to avail Mr. Barclay of that fund, either by your draft, or by a letter of credit to the bankers in his favor, to the necessary amount. I imagine the Dutch consul at Morocco may be rendered an useful character, in the remittances of money to Mr. Barclay while at Morocco.

You were apprised, by a letter from Mr. Short, of the delay which had arisen in the execution of the treaty with Prussia. I wrote a separate letter, of which I enclose you a copy, hoping it would meet one from you, and set them again into motion.

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I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[The following are the sketches of the letter to the Emperor of Morocco, and of the instructions to Mr. Barclay, referred to in the preceding letter.]

HEADS FOR A LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

That the United States of America, heretofore connected in government with Great Britain, had found it necessary for their happiness to separate from her, and to assume an independent station.

That, consisting of a number of separate States, they had confederated together, and placed the sovereignty of the whole, in matters relating to foreign nations, in a body consisting of delegates from every State, and called the Congress of the United States.

That Great Britain had solemnly confirmed their separation, and acknowledged their independence.

That after the conclusion of the peace, which terminated the war in which they had been engaged for the establishment of their independence, the first attentions of Congress were necessarily engrossed by the re-establishment of order and regular government.

That they had, as soon as possible, turned their attention to foreign nations, and, desirous of entering into amity and commerce with them, had been

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pleased to appoint us with Dr. Benjamin Franklin, to execute such treaties for this purpose, as should be agreed on by such nations, with us, or any two of us.

That Dr. Franklin having found it necessary to return to America, the execution of these several commissions had devolved on us.

That being placed as Ministers Plenipotentiary for the United States at the courts of England and France; this circumstance, with the commissions with which we are charged for entering into treaties with various other nations, puts it out of our power to attend at the other courts in person, and obliges us to negotiate by the intervention of confidential persons.

That, respecting the friendly dispositions shown by his Majesty, the Emperor of Morocco, towards the United States, and indulging the desire of forming a connection with a sovereign so renowned for his power, his wisdom, and his justice, we had embraced the first moment possible, of assuring him of these, the sentiments of our country and of ourselves, and of expressing to him our wishes to enter into a connection of friendship and commerce with him.

That for this purpose, we had commissioned the bearer hereof, Thomas Barclay, a person in the highest confidence of the Congress of the United States, and as such, having been several years, and still being their consul general with our great and good friend and ally, the King of France, to arrange

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with his Majesty the Emperor those conditions which it might be advantageous for both nations to adopt, for the regulation of their commerce, and their mutual conduct towards each other.

That we deliver to him a copy of the full powers with which we are invested, to conclude a treaty with his Majesty, which copy he is instructed to present to his Majesty.

That though by these, we are not authorized to delegate to him the power of ultimately signing the treaty, yet such is our reliance on his wisdom, his integrity, and his attention to the instructions with which he is charged, that we assure his Majesty, the conditions which he shall arrange and send to us, shall be returned with our signature, in order to receive that of the person whom his Majesty shall commission for the same purpose.

HEADS OF INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. BARCLAY.

Congress having been pleased to invest us with full powers for entering into a treaty of amity and alliance with the Emperor of Morocco, and it being impracticable for us to attend his court in person, and equally impracticable, on account of our separate stations, to receive a minister from him, we have concluded to effect our object by the intervention of a confidential person. We concur in wishing to avail the United States of your talents in the execution of this business, and therefore

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furnish you with a letter to the Emperor of Morocco, to give due credit to your transactions with him.

We advise you to proceed by the way of Madrid, where you will have opportunities of deriving many lights from Mr. Carmichael, through whom many communications with the court of Morocco have already passed.

From thence, you will proceed, by such route as you shall think best, to the court of the Emperor.

You will present to him our letter, with the copy of our full powers, with which you are furnished, at such time or times, and in such manner, as you shall find best.

You will proceed to negotiate, with his minister, the terms of a treaty of amity and commerce, as nearly conformed as possible to the draught we give you. Where alterations, which, in your opinion, shall not be of great importance, shall be urged by the other party, you are at liberty to agree to them. Where they shall be of great importance, and such as you think should be rejected, you will reject them; but where they are of great importance, and you think they may be accepted, you will ask time to take our advice, and will advise with us accordingly, by letter or by courier, as you shall think best. When the articles shall all be agreed, you will send them to us by some proper person, for our signature.

The whole expense of this treaty, including as well the expenses of all persons employed about it, as the presents to the Emperor and his servants

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must not exceed twenty thousand dollars; and we urge you to use your best endeavors to bring it as much below that sum as you possibly can. As custom may have rendered some presents necessary in the beginning or progress of this business, and before it is concluded, or even in a way to be concluded, we authorize you to conform to the custom, confiding in your discretion to hazard as little as possible, before a certainty of the event. We trust to you also to procure the best information, as to what persons, and in what form, these presents should be made, and to make them accordingly.

The difference between the customs of that and other courts, the difficulty of obtaining a knowledge of those customs, but on the spot, and our great confidence in your discretion, induce us to leave to that all other circumstances relative to the object of your mission. It will be necessary for you to take a secretary, well skilled in the French language, to aid you in your business, and to take charge of your papers in case of any accident to yourself. We think you may allow him ——— guineas a year, besides his expenses for travelling and subsistence. We engage to furnish your own expenses, according to the respectability of the character with which you are invested; but, as to the allowance for your trouble, we wish to leave it to Congress. We annex hereto sundry heads of inquiry which we wish you to make, and to give us thereon the best information you shall be able to obtain. We desire you to cor-

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respond with us by every opportunity which you think should be trusted, giving us, from time to time, an account of your proceedings and prospects.

HEADS OF INQUIRY FOR MR. BARCLAY, AS TO MOROCCO.

1. Commerce. What are the articles of their export and import? What duties are levied by them on exports and imports? Do all nations pay the same, or what nations are favored, and how far? Are they their own carriers, or who carries for them? Do they trade themselves to other countries, or are they merely passive?

2. Ports. What are their principal ports? What depth of water in them? What works of defence protect these ports?

3. Naval force. How many armed vessels have they? Of what kind and force? What is the constitution of their naval force? What resources for increasing their navy? What number of seamen? Their cruising grounds, and seasons of cruising?

4. Prisoners. What is their condition and treatment? At what price are they ordinarily redeemed, and how?

Do they pay respect to the treaties they make?

Land forces. Their numbers, constitution and respectability?

Revenues. Their amount.

Coins. What coins pass there, and at what rates?

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TO DAVID HARTLEY.

PARIS, September 5, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of April the 15th, happened to be put into my hands at the same time with a large parcel of letters from America, which contained a variety of intelligence. It was then put where I usually place my unanswered letters; and I, from time to time, put off acknowledging the receipt of it, till I should be able to furnish you American intelligence worth communicating. A favorable opportunity, by a courier, of writing to you, occurring this morning, what has been my astonishment and chagrin, on reading your letter again, to find there was a case in it which required an immediate answer, but which, by the variety of matters which happened to be presented to my mind, at the same time, had utterly escaped my recollection. I pray you to be assured, that nothing but this slip of memory would have prevented my immediate answer, and no other circumstance would have prevented its making such an impression on my mind, as that it could not have escaped. I hope you will, therefore, obliterate the imputation of want of respect, which, under actual appearances, must have arisen in your mind, but which would refer to an untrue cause the occasion of my silence. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the proceedings of the New York Assembly, to say, with certainty, in what predicament the lands of Mr. Upton may stand. But on

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conferring with Colonel Humphreys, who, being from the neighboring State, was more in the way of knowing what passed in New York, he thinks that the descriptions in their confiscation laws were such as not to include a case of this nature. The first thing to be done by Mr. Upton, is, to state his case to some intelligent lawyer of the country, that he may know with certainty whether they be confiscated or not; and if not confiscated, to know what measures are necessary for completing and securing his grant. But if confiscated, there is, then, no other tribunal of redress but their General Assembly. If he is unacquainted there, I would advise him to apply to Colonel Hamilton (who was aid to General Washington), and is now very eminent at the bar, and much to be relied on. Your letter in his favor to Mr. Jay will also procure him the benefit of his council.

With respect to America, I will rather give you a general view of its situation, than merely relate recent events. The impost is still unpassed by the two States of New York and Rhode Island; for the manner in which the latter has passed it does not appear to me to answer the principal object of establishing a fund, which, by being subject to Congress alone, may give such credit to the certificates of public debt, as will make them negotiable. This matter, then, is still suspended.

Congress have lately purchased the Indian right to nearly the whole of the land lying in the new State, bounded by Lake Erie, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio,

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The northwestern corner alone is reserved to the Delawares and Wiandots. I expect a purchase is also concluded with other tribes, for a considerable proportion of the State next to this, on the north side of the Ohio. They have passed an ordinance establishing a land office, considerably improved, I think, on the plan of which I had the honor of giving you a copy. The lands are to be offered for sale to the highest bidder. For this purpose, portions of them are to be proposed in each State, that each may have the means of purchase carried equally to their doors, and that the purchasers may be a proper mixture of the citizens from all the different States. But such lots as cannot be sold for a dollar an acre, are not to be parted with. They will receive as money the certificates of public debt. I flatter myself that this arrangement will very soon absorb the whole of these certificates, and thus rid us of our domestic debt, which is four-fifths of our whole debt. Our foreign debt will then be a bagatelle.

I think it probable that Vermont will be made independent, as I am told the State of New York is likely to agree to it. Maine will probably, in time, be also permitted to separate from Massachusetts. As yet, they only begin to think of it. Whenever the people of Kentucky shall have agreed among themselves, my friends write me word, that Virginia will consent to their separation. They will constitute the new State on the south side of Ohio, joining Virginia. North Carolina, by an act of their Assem-

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bly, ceded to Congress all their lands westward of the Alleghany. The people inhabiting that territory, thereon declared themselves independent, called their State by the name of Franklin, and solicited Congress to be received into the Union. But before Congress met, North Carolina (for what reasons I could never learn) resumed their cession. The people, however, persist; Congress recommended to the State to desist from their opposition, and I have no doubt they will do it. It will, therefore, result from the act of Congress laying off the western country into new States, that these States will come into the Union in the manner therein provided, and without any disputes as to their boundaries.

I am told that some hostile transaction by our people at the Natchez, against the Spaniards, has taken place. If it be fact, Congress will certainly not protect them, but leave them to be chastised by the Spaniards, saving the right to the territory. A Spanish minister being now with Congress, and both parties interested in keeping the peace, I think, if such an event has happened, it will be easily arranged.

I told you, when here, of the propositions made by Congress to the States, to be authorized to make certain regulations in their commerce; and that, from the disposition to strengthen the hands of Congress, which was then growing fast, I thought they would consent to it. Most of them did so, and I suppose all of them would have done it, if they have not actually done it, but that events proved a much

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more extensive power would be requisite. Congress have, therefore, desired to be invested with the whole regulation of their trade, and forever; and to prevent all temptations to abuse the power, and all fears of it, they propose that whatever moneys shall be levied on commerce, either for the purpose of revenue, or by way of forfeitures or penalty, shall go directly into the coffers of the State wherein it is levied, without being touched by Congress. From the present temper of the States, and the conviction which your country has carried home to their minds, that there is no other method of defeating the greedy attempts of other countries to trade with them on equal terms, I think they will add an article for this purpose to their Confederation. But the present powers of Congress over the commerce of the States, under the Confederation, seem not at all understood by your ministry. They say that body has no power to enter into a treaty of commerce; why then make one? This is a mistake. By the sixth article of the Confederation, the States renounce, individually, all power to make any treaty, of whatever nature, with a foreign nation. By the ninth article, they give the power of making treaties wholly to Congress, with two reservations only. 1. That no treaty of commerce shall be made, which shall restrain the legislature from making foreigners pay the same imposts with their own people: nor 2d, from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of merchandise, which they might think proper. Were any

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treaty to be made which should violate either of these two reservations, it would be so far void. In the treaties, therefore, made with France, Holland, &c., this has been cautiously avoided. But are these treaties of no advantage to these nations? Besides the advantages expressly given by them, there results another, of great value. The commerce of those nations with the United States, is thereby under the protection of Congress, and no particular State, acting by fits and starts, can harass the trade of France, Holland, &c., by such measures as several of them have practiced against England, by loading her merchandise with partial impost, refusing admittance to it altogether, excluding her merchants, &c., &c. For you will observe, that though by the second reservation before mentioned, they can prohibit the importation of any *species* of merchandise, as for instance, though they may prohibit the importation of wines in general, yet they cannot prohibit that of *French* wines in particular. Another advantage is, that the nations having treaties with Congress, can and do provide in such treaties for the admission of their consuls, a kind of officer very necessary for the regulation and protection of commerce. You know that a consul is the creature of treaty. No nation without an agreement, can place an officer in another country, with any powers or jurisdiction whatever. But as the States have renounced the separate power of making treaties with foreign nations, they cannot separately

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receive a consul; and as Congress have, by the Confederation, no immediate jurisdiction over commerce, as they have only a power of bringing that jurisdiction into existence by entering into a treaty, till such treaty be entered into, Congress themselves cannot receive a consul. Till a treaty then, there exists no power in any part of our government, federal or particular, to admit a consul among us; and if it be true, as the papers say, that you have lately sent one over, he cannot be admitted by any power in existence, to an exercise of any function. Nothing less than a new article, to be agreed to by all the States, would enable Congress, or the particular States, to receive him. You must not be surprised then, if he be not received.

I think I have by this time tired you with American politics, and will therefore only add assurances of the sincere regard and esteem, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO BARON GEISMER.

PARIS, September 6, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of March the 28th, which I received about a month after its date, gave me a very real pleasure, as it assured me of an existence which I valued, and of which I had been led to doubt. You are now too distant from America, to be much interested in what passes there. From the London

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gazettes, and the papers copying them, you are led to suppose that all there is anarchy, discontent and civil war. Nothing, however, is less true. There are not, on the face of the earth, more tranquil governments than ours, nor a happier and more contented people. Their commerce has not as yet found the channels, which their new relations with the world will offer to best advantage, and the old ones remain as yet unopened by new conventions. This occasions a stagnation in the sale of their produce, the only truth among all the circumstances published about them. Their hatred against Great Britain, having lately received from that nation new cause and new aliment, has taken a new spring. Among the individuals of your acquaintance, nothing remarkable has happened. No revolution in the happiness of any of them has taken place, except that of the loss of their only child to Mr. and Mrs. Walker, who, however, left them a grand-child for their solace, and that of your humble servant, who remains with no other family than two daughters, the elder here (who was of your acquaintance), the younger in Virginia, but expected here the next summer. The character in which I am here at present, confines me to this place, and will confine me as long as I continue in Europe. How long this will be, I cannot tell. I am now of an age which does not easily accommodate itself to new manners and new modes of living; and I am savage enough to prefer the woods, the wilds, and the independence of Monticello, to all

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the brilliant pleasures of this gay Capital. I shall, therefore, rejoin myself to my native country, with new attachments, and with exaggerated esteem for its advantages; for though there is less wealth there, there is more freedom, more ease, and less misery. I should like it better, however, if it could tempt you once more to visit it; but that is not to be expected. Be this as it may, and whether fortune means to allow or deny me the pleasure of ever seeing you again, be assured that the worth which gave birth to my attachment, and which still animates it, will continue to keep it up while we both live, and that it is with sincerity I subscribe myself, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN LANGDON.

PARIS, September 11, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your Captain Yeaton being here, furnishes me an opportunity of paying the tribute of my congratulations on your appointment to the government of your State, which I do sincerely. He gives me the grateful intelligence of your health, and that of Mrs. Langdon. Anxious to promote your service, and believing he could do it by getting himself naturalized here, and authorized to command your vessel, he came from Havre to Paris. But on making the best inquiries I could, it seemed that the time requisite to go through with this business, would be much more than he could spare. He therefore

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respond with us by every opportunity which you think should be trusted, giving us, from time to time, an account of your proceedings and prospects.

HEADS OF INQUIRY FOR MR. BARCLAY, AS TO MOROCCO.

1. Commerce. What are the articles of their export and import? What duties are levied by them on exports and imports? Do all nations pay the same, or what nations are favored, and how far? Are they their own carriers, or who carries for them? Do they trade themselves to other countries, or are they merely passive?

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Revenues. Their amount.

Coins. What coins pass there, and at what rates?

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TO DAVID HARTLEY.

PARIS, September 5, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of April the 15th, happened to be put into my hands at the same time with a large parcel of letters from America, which contained a variety of intelligence. It was then put where I usually place my unanswered letters; and I, from time to time, put off acknowledging the receipt of it, till I should be able to furnish you American intelligence worth communicating. A favorable opportunity, by a courier, of writing to you, occurring this morning, what has been my astonishment and chagrin, on reading your letter again, to find there was a case in it which required an immediate answer, but which, by the variety of matters which happened to be presented to my mind, at the same time, had utterly escaped my recollection. I pray you to be assured, that nothing but this slip of memory would have prevented my immediate answer, and no other circumstance would have prevented its making such an impression on my mind, as that it could not have escaped. I hope you will, therefore, obliterate the imputation of want of respect, which, under actual appearances, must have arisen in your mind, but which would refer to an untrue cause the occasion of my silence. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the proceedings of the New York Assembly, to say, with certainty, in what predicament the lands of Mr. Upton may stand. But on

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With respect to America, I will rather give you a general view of its situation, than merely relate recent events. The impost is still unpassed by the two States of New York and Rhode Island; for the manner in which the latter has passed it does not appear to me to answer the principal object of establishing a fund, which, by being subject to Congress alone, may give such credit to the certificates of public debt, as will make them negotiable. This matter, then, is still suspended.

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I think it probable that Vermont will be made independent, as I am told the State of New York is likely to agree to it. Maine will probably, in time, be also permitted to separate from Massachusetts. As yet, they only begin to think of it. Whenever the people of Kentucky shall have agreed among themselves, my friends write me word, that Virginia will consent to their separation. They will constitute the new State on the south side of Ohio, joining Virginia. North Carolina, by an act of their Assem-

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bly, ceded to Congress all their lands westward of the Alleghany. The people inhabiting that territory, thereon declared themselves independent, called their State by the name of Franklin, and solicited Congress to be received into the Union. But before Congress met, North Carolina (for what reasons I could never learn) resumed their cession. The people, however, persist; Congress recommended to the State to desist from their opposition, and I have no doubt they will do it. It will, therefore, result from the act of Congress laying off the western country into new States, that these States will come into the Union in the manner therein provided, and without any disputes as to their boundaries.

I am told that some hostile transaction by our people at the Natchez, against the Spaniards, has taken place. If it be fact, Congress will certainly not protect them, but leave them to be chastised by the Spaniards, saving the right to the territory. A Spanish minister being now with Congress, and both parties interested in keeping the peace, I think, if such an event has happened, it will be easily arranged.

I told you, when here, of the propositions made by Congress to the States, to be authorized to make certain regulations in their commerce; and that, from the disposition to strengthen the hands of Congress, which was then growing fast, I thought they would consent to it. Most of them did so, and I suppose all of them would have done it, if they have not actually done it, but that events proved a much

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more extensive power would be requisite. Congress have, therefore, desired to be invested with the whole regulation of their trade, and forever; and to prevent all temptations to abuse the power, and all fears of it, they propose that whatever moneys shall be levied on commerce, either for the purpose of revenue, or by way of forfeitures or penalty, shall go directly into the coffers of the State wherein it is levied, without being touched by Congress. From the present temper of the States, and the conviction which your country has carried home to their minds, that there is no other method of defeating the greedy attempts of other countries to trade with them on equal terms, I think they will add an article for this purpose to their Confederation. But the present powers of Congress over the commerce of the States, under the Confederation, seem not at all understood by your ministry. They say that body has no power to enter into a treaty of commerce; why then make one? This is a mistake. By the sixth article of the Confederation, the States renounce, individually, all power to make any treaty, of whatever nature, with a foreign nation. By the ninth article, they give the power of making treaties wholly to Congress, with two reservations only. 1. That no treaty of commerce shall be made, which shall restrain the legislature from making foreigners pay the same imposts with their own people: nor 2d, from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of merchandise, which they might think proper. Were any

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treaty to be made which should violate either of these two reservations, it would be so far void. In the treaties, therefore, made with France, Holland, &c., this has been cautiously avoided. But are these treaties of no advantage to these nations? Besides the advantages expressly given by them, there results another, of great value. The commerce of those nations with the United States, is thereby under the protection of Congress, and no particular State, acting by fits and starts, can harass the trade of France, Holland, &c., by such measures as several of them have practiced against England, by loading her merchandise with partial impost, refusing admittance to it altogether, excluding her merchants, &c., &c. For you will observe, that though by the second reservation before mentioned, they can prohibit the importation of any *species* of merchandise, as for instance, though they may prohibit the importation of wines in general, yet they cannot prohibit that of *French* wines in particular. Another advantage is, that the nations having treaties with Congress, can and do provide in such treaties for the admission of their consuls, a kind of officer very necessary for the regulation and protection of commerce. You know that a consul is the creature of treaty. No nation without an agreement, can place an officer in another country, with any powers or jurisdiction whatever. But as the States have renounced the separate power of making treaties with foreign nations, they cannot separately

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receive a consul; and as Congress have, by the Confederation, no immediate jurisdiction over commerce, as they have only a power of bringing that jurisdiction into existence by entering into a treaty, till such treaty be entered into, Congress themselves cannot receive a consul. Till a treaty then, there exists no power in any part of our government, federal or particular, to admit a consul among us; and if it be true, as the papers say, that you have lately sent one over, he cannot be admitted by any power in existence, to an exercise of any function. Nothing less than a new article, to be agreed to by all the States, would enable Congress, or the particular States, to receive him. You must not be surprised then, if he be not received.

I think I have by this time tired you with American politics, and will therefore only add assurances of the sincere regard and esteem, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO BARON GEISMER.

PARIS, September 6, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of March the 28th, which I received about a month after its date, gave me a very real pleasure, as it assured me of an existence which I valued, and of which I had been led to doubt. You are now too distant from America, to be much interested in what passes there. From the London

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gazettes, and the papers copying them, you are led to suppose that all there is anarchy, discontent and civil war. Nothing, however, is less true. There are not, on the face of the earth, more tranquil governments than ours, nor a happier and more contented people. Their commerce has not as yet found the channels, which their new relations with the world will offer to best advantage, and the old ones remain as yet unopened by new conventions. This occasions a stagnation in the sale of their produce, the only truth among all the circumstances published about them. Their hatred against Great Britain, having lately received from that nation new cause and new aliment, has taken a new spring. Among the individuals of your acquaintance, nothing remarkable has happened. No revolution in the happiness of any of them has taken place, except that of the loss of their only child to Mr. and Mrs. Walker, who, however, left them a grand-child for their solace, and that of your humble servant, who remains with no other family than two daughters, the elder here (who was of your acquaintance), the younger in Virginia, but expected here the next summer. The character in which I am here at present, confines me to this place, and will confine me as long as I continue in Europe. How long this will be, I cannot tell. I am now of an age which does not easily accommodate itself to new manners and new modes of living; and I am savage enough to prefer the woods, the wilds, and the independence of Monticello, to all

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the brilliant pleasures of this gay Capital. I shall, therefore, rejoin myself to my native country, with new attachments, and with exaggerated esteem for its advantages; for though there is less wealth there, there is more freedom, more ease, and less misery. I should like it better, however, if it could tempt you once more to visit it; but that is not to be expected. Be this as it may, and whether fortune means to allow or deny me the pleasure of ever seeing you again, be assured that the worth which gave birth to my attachment, and which still animates it, will continue to keep it up while we both live, and that it is with sincerity I subscribe myself, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN LANGDON.

PARIS, September 11, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your Captain Yeaton being here, furnishes me an opportunity of paying the tribute of my congratulations on your appointment to the government of your State, which I do sincerely. He gives me the grateful intelligence of your health, and that of Mrs. Langdon. Anxious to promote your service, and believing he could do it by getting himself naturalized here, and authorized to command your vessel, he came from Havre to Paris. But on making the best inquiries I could, it seemed that the time requisite to go through with this business, would be much more than he could spare. He therefore

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declined it. I wish it were in my power to give you a hope that our commerce, either with this country, or its islands, was likely to be put on a better footing. But if it be altered at all, it will probably be for the worse. The regulations respecting their commerce are by no means sufficiently stable to be relied on.

Europe is in quiet, and likely to remain so. The affairs of the Emperor and Dutch are as good as settled, and no other cloud portends any immediate storm. You have heard much of American vessels taken by the Barbary pirates. The Emperor of Morocco took one last winter, (the brig Betsey from Philadelphia;) he did not however reduce the crew to slavery, nor confiscate the vessel or cargo. He has lately delivered up the crew on the solicitation of the Spanish court. No other has ever been taken by them. There are, indeed, rumors of one having been lately taken by the Algerines. The fact is possible, as there is nothing to hinder their taking them, but it is not as yet confirmed. I have little doubt, that we shall be able to place our commerce on a popular footing with the Barbary States, this summer, and thus not only render our navigation to Portugal and Spain safe, but open the Mediterranean as formerly. In spite of treaties, England is still our enemy. Her hatred is deep rooted and cordial, and nothing is wanting with her but the power to wipe us, and the land we live on, out of existence. Her interest, however, is her ruling passion; and the late American measures have struck at that so vitally,

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and with an energy, too, of which she had thought us quite incapable, that a possibility seems to open of forming some arrangement with her. When they shall see decidedly, that, without it, we shall suppress their commerce with us, they will be agitated by their avarice, on the one hand, and their hatred and their fear of us, on the other. The result of this conflict of dirty passions is yet to be awaited. The body of the people of this country love us cordially. But ministers and merchants love nobody. The merchants here, are endeavoring to exclude us from their islands. The ministers will be governed in it by political motives, and will do it, or not do it, as these shall appear to dictate, without love or hatred to anybody. It were to be wished that they were able to combine better, the various circumstances which prove, beyond a doubt, that all the advantages of their colonies result, in the end, to the mother country. I pray you to present me in the most friendly terms to Mrs. Langdon, and to be assured of the esteem with which I am, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO M. DE LA VALEE.

PARIS, September 11, 1785.

SIR,—I received duly your favor of August 14th. It is not in my power to take on the account of Congress any part of the expenses of your passage, having received no authority of that kind from them; nor

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indeed is the encouragement of emigrations among the objects with which they are charged. I fear that when you get to Portsmouth you will find difficulties in the winter season to go by water to any more southern States. Your objects being the manufacture of wool and cotton, you will of course choose to fix yourself where you can get both or one of these articles in plenty. The most and best wool is to be had in the middle States; they begin to make a little cotton in Maryland; they make a great deal in Virginia, and all the States south of that. The price of clean cotton in Virginia is from 21 to 26 sols. a pound, that is to say, from a fifth to a fourth of a dollar. General Washington being at the head of the great works carrying on towards clearing the Potomac, I have no doubt but that work will be completed. It will furnish great opportunities of using machines of all kinds; perhaps you may find employment there for your skill in that way. Alexandria on the Potomac will undoubtedly become a very great place, but Norfolk would be the best for cotton manufacture. As you are a stranger, I mention such facts as I suppose may be useful to you. I wish you success, and am, Sir, your very humble servant.

TO M. LE MARQ. DE PONCINS.

PARIS, September 11, 1785.

SIR,—I received three days ago the letter you did me the honor to write to me on the 2d of August.

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Congress have purchased a very considerable extent of country from the Indians, and have passed an ordinance laying down rules for disposing of it. These admit only two considerations for granting lands; first, military service rendered during the late war; and secondly, money to be paid at the time of granting, for the purpose of discharging their national debt. They direct these lands to be sold at auction to him who will give most for them, but that, at any rate, they shall not be sold for less than a dollar an acre. However, as they receive as money the certificates of public debt, and these can be bought for the half or fourth of their nominal value, the price of the lands is reduced in proportion. As Congress exercise their government by general rules only, I do not believe they will grant lands to any individual for any other consideration than those mentioned in their ordinance. They have ordered the lands to be surveyed, and this work is now actually going on under the directions of their own geographer. They do not require information of the quality of the soil, because they will sell the lands faster than this could be obtained; and after they are sold, it is the interest of the purchaser to examine for what the soil is proper. As ours is a country of husbandmen, I make no doubt they will receive the book of which you write to me with pleasure and advantage. I have stated to you such facts as might enable you to decide for yourself how far that country presents advantages which might answer your views. It is

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proper for me to add that everything relative to the sale and survey of these lands is out of the province of my duty. Supposing you might be desirous of receiving again the letters of Dr. Franklin, I enclose them, and have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, September 20, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—By Mr. Fitzhugh, you will receive my letter of the first instant. He is still here, and gives me an opportunity of again addressing you much sooner than I should have done, but for the discovery of a great piece of inattention. In that letter I send you a detail of the cost of your books, and desire you to keep the amount in your hands, as if I had forgot that a part of it was in fact your own, as being a balance of what I had remained in your debt. I really did not attend to it in the moment of writing, and when it occurred to me, I revised my memorandum book from the time of our being in Philadelphia together, and stated our account from the beginning, lest I should forget or mistake any part of it. I enclose you this statement. You will always be so good as to let me know, from time to time, your advances for me. Correct with freedom all my proceedings for you, as, in what I do, I have no other desire than that of doing exactly what will be most pleasing to you.

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I received this summer a letter from Messrs. Buchanan and Hay, as Directors of the public buildings, desiring I would have drawn for them, plans of sundry buildings, and, in the first place, of a capitol. They fixed, for their receiving this plan, a day which was within about six weeks of that on which their letter came to my hand. I engaged an architect of capital abilities in this business. Much time was requisite, after the external form was agreed on, to make the internal distribution convenient for the three branches of government. This time was much lengthened by my avocations to other objects, which I had no right to neglect. The plan, however, was settled. The gentlemen had sent me one which they had thought of. The one agreed on here, is more convenient, more beautiful, gives more room, and will not cost more than two-thirds of what that would. We took for our model what is called the *Maison Quarrée* of Nismes, one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful and precious morsel of architecture left us by antiquity. It was built by Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and repaired by Louis XIV., and has the suffrage of all the judges of architecture who have seen it, as yielding to no one of the beautiful monuments of Greece, Rome, Palmyra, and Balbec, which late travellers have communicated to us. It is very simple, but it is noble beyond expression, and would have done honor to our country, as presenting to travellers a specimen of taste in our infancy, promising much for our maturer

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age. I have been much mortified with information, which I received two days ago from Virginia, that the first brick of the capitol would be laid within a few days. But surely, the delay of this piece of a summer would have been repaired by the savings in the plan preparing here, were we to value its other superiorities as nothing. But how is a taste in this beautiful art to be formed in our countrymen unless we avail ourselves of every occasion when public buildings are to be erected, of presenting to them models for their study and imitation? Pray try if you can effect the stopping of this work. I have written also to E. R. on the subject. The loss will be only of the laying the bricks already laid, or a part of them. The bricks themselves will do again for the interior walls, and one side wall and one end wall may remain, as they will answer equally well for our plan. This loss is not to be weighed against the saving of money which will arise, against the comfort of laying out the public money for something honorable, the satisfaction of seeing an object and proof of national good taste, and the regret and mortification of erecting a monument of our barbarism, which will be loaded with execrations as long as it shall endure The plans are in good forwardness, and I hope will be ready within three or four weeks. They could not be stopped now, but on paying their whole price, which will be considerable. If the undertakers are afraid to undo what they have done, encourage them to it by a recommendation from the Assembly. You

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see I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world, and procure them its praise.

I shall send off your books, in two trunks, to Havre, within two or three days, to the care of Mr. Limozin, American agent there. I will advise you, as soon as I know by what vessel he forwards them. Adieu. Yours affectionately.

TO EDMUND RANDOLPH.

PARIS, September 20, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Being in your debt for ten volumes of Buffon, I have endeavored to find something that would be agreeable to you to receive, in return. I therefore send you, by way of Havre, a dictionary of law, natural and municipal, in thirteen volumes, 4to, called "le Code de l'humanité." It is published by Felice, but written by him and several other authors of established reputation. It is an excellent work. I do not mean to say, that it answers fully to its title. That would have required fifty times the volume. It wants many articles which the title would induce us to seek in it. But the articles which it contains are well written. It is better than the voluminous "Dictionnaire diplomatique," and better, also, than the same branch of the "Encyclopedie

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methodique." There has been nothing published here, since I came, of extraordinary merit. The Encyclopedie methodique, which is coming out, from time to time, must be excepted from this. It is to be had at two guineas less than the subscription price. I shall be happy to send you anything in this way which you may desire. French books are to be bought here, for two-thirds of what they can in England. English and Greek and Latin authors, cost from twenty-five to fifty per cent. more here than in England.

I received, some time ago, a letter from Messrs. Hay and Buchanan, as Directors of the public buildings, desiring I would have plans drawn for our public buildings, and in the first place, for the Capitol. I did not receive their letter until within six weeks of the time they had fixed on, for receiving the drawings. Nevertheless, I engaged an excellent architect to comply with their desire. It has taken much time to accommodate the external adopted, to the internal arrangement necessary for the three branches of government. However, it is effected on a plan, which, with a great deal of beauty and convenience within, unites an external form on the most perfect model of antiquity now existing. This is the *Maison Quarrée* of Nismes, built by Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and repaired by Louis XIV., which, in the opinion of all who have seen it, yields in beauty to no piece of architecture on earth. The gentlemen enclosed me a plan of which they had thought. The one pre-

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paring here, will be more convenient, give more room, and cost but two-thirds of that; and as a piece of architecture, doing honor to our country, will leave nothing to be desired. The plans will be ready soon. But, two days ago, I received a letter from Virginia, informing me the first brick of the capitol would be laid in a few days. This mortifies me extremely. The delay of this summer, would have been amply repaid by the superiority and economy of the plan preparing here. Is it impossible to stop the work where it is? You will gain money by losing what is done, and general approbation, instead of occasioning a regret, which will endure as long as your building does. How is a taste for a chaste and good style of building to be formed in our countrymen, unless we seize all occasions which the erection of public buildings offers, of presenting to them models for their imitation? Do, my dear Sir, exert your influence to stay the further progress of the work, till you can receive these plans. You will only lose the price of laying what bricks are already laid, and of taking part of them asunder. They will do again for the inner walls. A plan for a prison will be sent at the same time.

Mazzei is here, and in pressing distress for money. I have helped him as far as I have been able, but particular circumstances put it out of my power to do more. He is looking with anxiety to the arrival of every vessel, in hopes of relief through your means. If he does not receive it soon, it is difficult to foresee his fate.

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The quiet which Europe enjoys at present leaves nothing to communicate to you in the political way. The Emperor and Dutch still differ about the quantum of money to be paid by the latter; they know not what. Perhaps their internal convulsions will hasten them to a decision. France is improving her navy, as if she were already in a naval war, yet I see no immediate prospect of her having occasion for it. England is not likely to offer war to any nation, unless perhaps to ours. This would cost us our whole shipping, but in every other respect we might flatter ourselves with success. But the most successful war seldom pays for its losses. I shall be glad to hear from you when convenient, and am, with much esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, September 24, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 18th, enclosing your compliments on your presentation. The sentiments you therein expressed were such as were entertained in America till the commercial proclamation, and such as would again return were a rational conduct to be adopted by Great Britain. I think, therefore, you by no means compromised yourself or our country, nor expressed more than it would be our interest to encourage, if they were disposed to meet us. I am pleased, however, to see the answer of the King. It bears

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the marks of suddenness and surprise, and as he seems not to have had time for reflection, we may suppose he was obliged to find his answer in the real sentiments of his heart, if that heart has any sentiment. I have no doubt, however, that it contains the real creed of an Englishman, and that the word which he has let escape, is the true word of the enigma. "The moment I see such sentiments as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the *preference*, I will," &c. All this I steadily believe. But the condition is impossible. Our interest calls for a perfect equality in our conduct towards these two nations; but no preference anywhere. If, however, circumstances should ever oblige us to show a preference, a respect for our character, if we had no better motive, would decide to which it should be given.

My letters from members of Congress render it doubtful whether they would not rather that full time should be given for the present disposition of America to mature itself, and to produce a permanent improvement in the federal constitution, rather than by removing the incentive to prevent the improvement. It is certain that our commerce is in agonies at present, and that these would be relieved by opening the British ports in the West Indies. It remains to consider whether a temporary continuance under these sufferings would be paid for by the amendment it is likely to produce. However, I believe there is no fear that Great

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Britain will puzzle us by leaving it in our choice tc hasten or delay a treaty.

Is insurance made on Houdon's life? I am uneasy about it, lest we should hear of any accident. As yet there is no reason to doubt their safe passage. If the insurance is not made, I will pray you to have it done immediately.

As I have not received any London newspapers as yet, I am obliged to ask you what is done as to them, lest the delay should proceed from some obstacle to be removed.

There is a Mr. Thompson at Dover, who has proposed to me a method of getting them post free, but I have declined resorting to it till I should know in what train the matter is at present.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, September 24, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—My letter of September the 19th, written the morning after Mr. Lambe's arrival here, will inform you of that circumstance. I transmit you herewith copies of the papers he brought to us on the subject of the Barbary treaties. You will see by them that Congress have adopted the very plan which we were proposing to pursue. It will now go on with less danger of objection from the other parties. The receipt of these new papers,

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therefore, has rendered necessary no change, in matter of substance, in the despatches we had prepared. But they render some formal changes necessary. For instance, in our letter of credence for Mr. Barclay to the Emperor of Morocco, it becomes improper to enter into those explanations which seemed proper when that letter was drawn, because Congress, in their letter, enter into those explanations. In the letter to the Count de Vergennes, it became proper to mention the new full powers received from Congress, and which, in some measure, accord with the idea communicated by him to us from the Marechal de Castries. These and other formal alterations, which appeared necessary to me, I have made, leaving so much of the original draughts, approved and amended by you, as were not inconsistent with these alterations. I have, therefore, had these prepared fair, to save you the trouble of copying; yet, wherever you choose to make alterations, you will be so good as to make them, taking, in that case, the trouble of having new fair copies made out.

You will perceive by Mr. Jay's letter that Congress had not thought proper to give Mr. Lambe any appointment. I imagine they apprehend it might interfere with measures actually taken by us. Notwithstanding the perfect freedom which they are pleased to leave to us on this subject, I cannot feel myself clear of that bias which a presumption of their pleasure gives, and ought to give. I presume

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that Mr. Lambe met their approbation, because of the recommendations he carried from the Governor and State of Connecticut, because of his actual knowledge of the country and people of the States of Barbary, because of the detention of these letters from March to July, which, considering their pressing nature, would otherwise have been sent by other Americans, who, in the meantime, have come from New York to Paris, and because, too, of the information we received by Mr. Jarvis. These reasons are not strong enough to set aside our appointment of Mr. Barclay to Morocco; that I think should go on, as no man could be sent who would enjoy more the confidence of Congress. But they are strong enough to induce me to propose to you the appointment of Lambe to Algiers. He has followed for many years the Barbary trade, and seems intimately acquainted with those States. I have not seen enough of him to judge of his abilities. He seems not deficient, as far as I can see, and the footing on which he comes, must furnish a presumption for what we do not see. We must say the same as to his integrity; we must rely for this on the recommendations he brings, as it is impossible for us to judge of this for ourselves. Yet it will be our duty to use such reasonable cautions as are in our power. Two occur to me. 1. To give him a clerk capable of assisting and attending to his proceedings, and who, in case he thought anything was going amiss, might give us information. 2. Not to give him a credit on Van Staphorst and

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Willinck, but let his drafts be made on yourself, which, with the knowledge you will have of his proceedings, will enable you to check them, if you are sensible of any abuse intended. This will give you trouble; but as I have never found you declining trouble when it is necessary, I venture to propose it. I hope it will not expose you to inconvenience, as by instructing Lambe to insert in his drafts a proper usance, you can, in the meantime, raise the money for them by drawing on Holland. I must inform you that Mr. Barclay wishes to be put on the same footing with Mr. Lambe, as to this article, and therefore I return you your letter of credit on Van Staphorst & Co. As to the first article, there is great difficulty. There is nobody at Paris fit for the undertaking who would be likely to accept it. I mean there is no American, for I should be anxious to place a native in the trust. Perhaps you can send us one from London. There is a Mr. Randall there from New York, whom Mr. Barclay thinks might be relied on very firmly for integrity and capacity. He is there for his health; perhaps you can persuade him to go to Algiers in pursuit of it. If you cannot, I really know not what will be done. It is impossible to propose to Bancroft to go in a secondary capacity. Mr. Barclay and myself have thought of Cairnes, at L'Orient, as a *dernier resort*. But it is uncertain, or rather improbable, that he will undertake it. You will be pleased, in the first place, to consider of my proposition to send Lambe to Algiers;

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and in the next, all the circumstances before detailed as consequences of that.

The enclosed letter from Richard O'Bryan furnishes powerful motives for commencing, by some means or other, the treaty with Algiers, more immediately than would be done if left on Mr. Barclay. You will perceive by that, that two of our vessels, with their crews and cargoes, have been carried captive into that port. What is to be done as to those poor people? I am for hazarding the supplementary instruction to Lambe which accompanies these papers. Alter it, or reject it, as you please. You ask what I think of claiming the Dutch interposition. I doubt the fidelity of any interposition too much to desire it sincerely. Our letters to this court heretofore seemed to oblige us to communicate with them on the subject. If you think the Dutch would take amiss our not applying to them, I will join you in the application. Otherwise, the fewer who are apprised of our proceedings, the better. To communicate them to the States of Holland, is to communicate them to the whole world.

Mr. Short returned last night, and brought the Prussian treaty, duly executed in English and French. We may send it to Congress by the Messrs. Fitzhughs, going from hence. Will you draw and sign a short letter for that purpose? I send you a copy of a letter received from the Marquis Fayette. In the present unsettled state of American commerce, I had as

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leave avoid all further treaties, except with American powers. If Count Merci, therefore, does not propose the subject to me, I shall not to him, nor do more than decency requires, if he does propose it.

I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO F. HOPKINSON.

PARIS, September 25, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 6th of July. Since that, I have received yours of July the 23d. I do not altogether despair of making something of your method of quilling, though, as yet, the prospect is not favorable. I applaud much your perseverance in improving this instrument, and benefiting mankind almost in spite of their teeth. I mentioned to Piccini the improvement with which I am entrusted. He plays on the pianoforte, and therefore did not feel himself personally interested. I hope some better opportunity will yet fall in my way of doing it justice. I had almost decided, on his advice, to get a pianoforte for my daughter; but your last letter may pause me, till I see its effect.

Arts and arms are alike asleep for the moment. Ballooning indeed goes on. There are two artists in the neighborhood of Paris, who seem to be advancing towards the desideratum in this business. They are able to rise and fall at will, without expending their

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gas, and to deflect fortv-five degrees from the course of the wind.

I desired you, in my last, to send the newspapers, notwithstanding the expense. I had then no idea of it. Some late instances have made me perfectly acquainted with it. I have therefore been obliged to adopt the following plan. To have my newspapers, from the different States, enclosed to the office for Foreign Affairs, and to desire Mr. Jay to pack the whole in a box, and send it by the packet as merchandise, directed to the American consul at L'Orient, who will forward it to me by the periodical wagons. In this way, they will only cost me livres where they now cost me guineas. I must pray you, just before the departure of every French packet. to send my papers on hand, to Mr. Jay, in this way. I do not know whether I am subject to American postage or not, in general; but I think newspapers never are. I have sometimes thought of sending a copy of my Notes to the Philosophical Society, as a tribute due to them; but this would seem as if I considered them as worth something, which I am conscious they are not. I will not ask you for your advice on this occasion, because it is one of those on which no man is authorized to ask a sincere opinion. I shall therefore refer it to further thoughts.

I am, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO R. IZARD.

PARIS, September 26, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I received, a few days ago, your favor of the 10th of June, and am to thank you for the trouble you have given yourself, to procure me information on the subject of the commerce of your State. I pray you also, to take the trouble of expressing my acknowledgments to the Governor and Chamber of Commerce, as well as to Mr. Hall, for the very precise details on this subject, with which they have been pleased to honor me. Your letter of last January, of which you make mention, never came to my hands. Of course, the papers now received are the first and only ones which have come safe. The infidelities of the post offices, both of England and France, are not unknown to you. The former are the most rascally, because they retain one's letters, not choosing to take the trouble of copying them. The latter, when they have taken copies, are so civil as to send the originals, resealed clumsily with a composition, on which they have previously taken the impression of the seal. England shows no dispositions to enter into friendly connections with us. On the contrary, her detention of our posts, seems to be the speck which is to produce a storm. I judge that a war with America would be a popular war in England. Perhaps the situation of Ireland may deter the ministry from hastening it on. Peace is at length made between

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the Emperor and Dutch. The terms are not published, but it is said, he gets ten millions of florins, the navigation of the Scheldt not quite to Antwerp, and two forts. However, this is not to be absolutely relied on. The league formed by the King of Prussia against the Emperor, is a most formidable obstacle to his ambitious designs. It certainly has defeated his views on Bavaria, and will render doubtful the election of his nephew to be King of the Romans. Matters are not yet settled between him and the Turk. In truth, he undertakes too much. At home he has made some good regulations.

Your present pursuit being (the wisest of all) agriculture, I am not in a situation to be useful to it. You know that France is not the country most celebrated for this art. I went the other day to see a plough which was to be worked by a windlass, without horses or oxen. It was a poor affair. With a very troublesome apparatus, applicable only to a dead level, four men could do the work of two horses. There seems a possibility that the great desideratum in the use of the balloon may be obtained. There are two persons at Javel (opposite to Auteuil) who are pushing this matter. They are able to rise and fall at will, without expending their gas, and they can deflect forty-five degrees from the course of the wind.

I took the liberty of asking you to order me a Charleston newspaper. The expense of French postage is so enormous, that I have been obliged to

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desire that my newspapers, from the different States, may be sent to the office for Foreign Affairs at New York; and I have requested of Mr. Jay to have them always packed in a box, and sent by the French packets as merchandise, to the care of the American consul at L'Orient, who will send them on by the periodical wagons. Will you permit me to add this to the trouble I have before given you, of ordering the printer to send them, under cover to Mr. Jay, by such opportunities by water, as occur from time to time. This request must go to the acts of your Assembly also. I shall be on the watch to send you anything that may appear here on the subjects of agriculture or the arts, which may be worth your perusal. I sincerely congratulate Mrs. Izard and yourself, on the double accession to your family by marriage and a new birth. My daughter values much your remembrance of her, and prays to have her respects presented to the ladies and yourself. In this I join her, and shall embrace with pleasure every opportunity of assuring you of the sincere esteem, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO MR. BELLINI.

PARIS, September 30, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your estimable favor, covering a letter to Mr. Mazzei, came to hand on the 26th

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instant. The letter to Mr. Mazzei was put into his hands in the same moment, as he happened to be present. I leave to him to convey to you all his complaints, as it will be more agreeable to me to express to you the satisfaction I received, on being informed of your perfect health. Though I could not receive the same pleasing news of Mrs. Bellini, yet the philosophy with which I am told she bears the loss of health, is a testimony the more how much she deserved the esteem I bear her. Behold me at length on the vaunted scene of Europe! It is not necessary for your information, that I should enter into details concerning it. But you are, perhaps, curious to know how this new scene has struck a savage of the mountains of America. Not advantageously, I assure you. I find the general fate of humanity here most deplorable. The truth of Voltaire's observation, offers itself perpetually, that every man here must be either the hammer or the anvil. It is a true picture of that country to which they say we shall pass hereafter, and where we are to see God and his angels in splendor, and crowds of the damned trampled under their feet. While the great mass of the people are thus suffering under physical and moral oppression, I have endeavored to examine more nearly the condition of the great, to appreciate the true value of the circumstances in their situation, which dazzle the bulk of spectators, and, especially, to compare it with that degree of happiness which is enjoyed in America,

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by every class of people. Intrigues of love occupy the younger, and those of ambition, the elder part of the great. Conjugal love having no existence among them, domestic happiness, of which that is the basis, is utterly unknown. In lieu of this, are substituted pursuits which nourish and invigorate all our bad passions, and which offer only moments of ecstasy, amidst days and months of restlessness and torment. Much, very much inferior, this, to the tranquil, permanent felicity with which domestic society in America blesses most of its inhabitants; leaving them to follow steadily those pursuits which health and reason approve, and rendering truly delicious the intervals of those pursuits.

In science, the mass of the people are two centuries behind ours; their literati, half a dozen years before us. Books, really good, acquire just reputation in that time, and so become known to us, and communicate to us all their advances in knowledge. Is not this delay compensated, by our being placed out of the reach of that swarm of nonsensical publications which issues daily from a thousand presses, and perishes almost in issuing? With respect to what are termed polite manners, without sacrificing too much the sincerity of language, I would wish my countrymen to adopt just so much of European politeness, as to be ready to make all those little sacrifices of self, which really render European manners amiable, and relieve society from the disagreeable scenes to which rudeness often

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subjects it. Here, it seems that a man might pass a life without encountering a single rudeness. In the pleasures of the table, they are far before us, because, with good taste they unite temperance. They do not terminate the most sociable meals by transforming themselves into brutes. I have never yet seen a man drunk in France, even among the lowest of the people. Were I to proceed to tell you how much I enjoy their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, I should want words. It is in these arts they shine. The last of them, particularly, is an enjoyment, the deprivation of which with us, cannot be calculated. I am almost ready to say, it is the only thing which from my heart I envy them, and which, in spite of all the authority of the Decalogue, I do covet. But I am running on in an estimate of things infinitely better known to you than to me, and which will only serve to convince you, that I have brought with me all the prejudices of country, habit, and age. But whatever I may allow to be charged to me as prejudice, in every other instance, I have one sentiment at least, founded on reality: it is that of the perfect esteem which your merit and that of Mrs. Bellini have produced, and which will forever enable me to assure you of the sincere regard with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO JAMES MADISON, OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.

PARIS, October 2, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favor of April the 10th, by Mr. Mazzei. You therein speak of a new method of raising water by steam, which you suppose will come into general use. I know of no new method of that kind, and suppose (as you say the account you have received of it is very imperfect) that some person has represented to you, as new, a fire engine erected at Paris, and which supplies the greater part of the town with water. But this is nothing more than the fire engine you have seen described in the books of hydraulics, and particularly in the "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences," published in 8vo, by Owen, the idea of which was first taken from Papin's "Digester." It would have been better called the steam engine. The force of the steam of water, you know, is immense. In this engine, it is made to exert itself towards the working of pumps. That of Paris is, I believe, the largest known, raising four hundred thousand cubic feet (French) of water, in twenty-four hours; or rather, I should have said, *those* of Paris, for there are two under one roof, each raising that quantity.

The Abbé Rochon not living at Paris, I have not had an opportunity of seeing him, and of asking him the questions you desire, relative to the crystal of which I wrote you. I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity I can, of doing it. I shall

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cheerfully execute your commands as to the *Encyclopédie*, when I receive them. The price will be only thirty guineas. About half the work is out. The volumes of your Buffon which are spoiled, can be replaced here.

I expect that this letter will be carried by the Messrs. Fitzhughs, in a ship from Havre to Portsmouth. I have therefore sent to Havre some books which I expected would be acceptable to you. These are the "Bibliothéque Physico-œconomique," which will give you most of the late improvements in the Arts; the "Connoissance des Tems" for 1786 and 1787, which is as late as they are published; and some pieces on air and fire, wherein you will find all the discoveries hitherto made on these subjects. These books are made into a packet, with your address on them, and are put into a trunk, wherein is a small packet for Mr. Wythe, another for Mr. Page, and a parcel of books, without direction, for Peter Carr. I have taken the liberty of directing the trunk to you, as the surest means of its getting safe. I pay the freight of it here, so that there will be no new demands, but for the transportation from the ship's side to Williamsburg, which I will pray you to pay; and as much the greatest part is for my nephew, I will take care to repay it to you.

In the last volume of the "Connoissance des Tems," you will find the tables for the planet Herschel. It is a curious circumstance, that this planet was seen thirty years ago by Mayer, and supposed by him to

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be a fixed star. He accordingly determined a place for it, in his catalogue of the zodiacal stars, making it the 964th of that catalogue. Bode, of Berlin, observed in 1781 that this star was missing. Subsequent calculations of the motion of the planet Herschel, show that it must have been, at the time of Mayer's observation, where he had placed his 964th star.

Herschel has pushed his discoveries of double stars, now, to upwards of nine hundred, being twice the number of those communicated in the "Philosophical Transactions." You have probably seen, that a Mr. Pigott had discovered periodical variations of light in the star Algol. He has observed the same in the η of Antinous, and makes the period of variation seven days, four hours, and thirty minutes, the duration of the increase sixty-three hours, and of the decrease thirty-six hours. What are we to conclude from this? That there are suns which have their orbits of revolution too? But this would suppose a wonderful harmony in their planets, and present a new scene, where the attracting powers should be without, and not within the orbit. The motion of our sun would be a miniature of this. But this must be left to you astronomers.

I went some time ago to see a machine which offers something new. A man had applied to a light boat a very large screw, the thread of which was a thin plate, two feet broad, applied by its edge spirally around a small axis. It somewhat resembled

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a bottle brush, if you will suppose the hairs of the bottle brush joining together, and forming a spiral plane. This, turned on its axis in the air, carried the vessel across the Seine. It is, in fact, a screw which takes hold of the air and draws itself along by it; losing, indeed, much of its effort by the yielding nature of the body it lays hold of to pull itself on by. I think it may be applied in the water with much greater effect, and to very useful purposes. Perhaps it may be used also for the balloon.

It is impossible but you must have heard long ago of the machine for copying letters at a single stroke, as we had received it in America before I left there. I have written a long letter to my nephew, in whose education I feel myself extremely interested. I shall rely much on your friendship for conducting him in the plan I mark out for him, and for guarding him against those shoals on which youth sometimes shipwreck. I trouble you to present to Mr. Wythe my affectionate remembrance of him, and am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO DR. FRANKLIN.

PARIS, October 5, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—A vessel sailing from Havre to Philadelphia, furnishes the Messrs. Fitzhughs with a passage to that place. To them, therefore, I confide a number of letters and packets which I have

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received for you from sundry quarters, and which, I doubt not, they will deliver safe. Among these, is one from M. Du Plessis. On receipt of your letter, in answer to the one I had written you, on the subject of his memorial, I sent to M. La Motte, M. Chaumont, and wherever else I thought there was a probability of finding out Du Plessis' address. But all in vain. I meant to examine his memoir, as you desired, and to have it copied. Lately, he came and brought it with him, copied by himself. He desired me to read it, and enclose it to you, which I have done.

We have no public news worth communicating to you, but the signing of preliminaries between the Emperor and Dutch. The question is, then, with whom the Emperor will pick the next quarrel. Our treaty with Prussia goes by this conveyance. But it is not to be spoken of, till a convenient time is allowed for exchanging ratifications.

Science offers nothing new since your departure, nor any new publication worth your notice. All your friends here are well. Those in England, have carried you captive to Algiers. They have published a letter, as if written by Truxen, the 20th of August, from Algiers, stating the circumstances of the capture, and that you bore your slavery to admiration. I happened to receive a letter from Algiers, dated August the 24th, informing me that two vessels were then there, taken from us, and naming the vessels and captains. This was a satisfactory proof to us, that you were not there. The

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fact being so, we would have gladly dispensed with the proof, as the situation of our countrymen there, was described as very distressing.

Were I to mention all those who make inquiries after you, there would be no end to my letter. I cannot, however, pass over those of the good old Countess d'Hoditot, with whom I dined on Saturday, at Sanois. They were very affectionate. I hope you have had a good passage. Your essay in crossing the channel, gave us great hopes you would experience little inconvenience on the rest of the voyage. My wishes place you in the bosom of your friends, in good health, and with a well-grounded prospect of preserving it long, for your own sake, for theirs, and that of the world.

I am, with the sincerest attachment and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO SAMUEL OSGOOD.

PARIS, October 5, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—It was with very sincere pleasure, I heard of your appointment to the board of treasury, as well from the hope that it might not be disagreeable to yourself, as from the confidence that your administration would be wise. I heartily wish the States may, by their contributions, enable you to re-establish a credit, which cannot be lower than at present, to exist at all. This is partly owing to their

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real deficiencies, and partly to the lies propagated by the London papers, which are probably paid for by the minister, to reconcile the people to the loss of us. Unluckily, it indisposes them, at the same time, to form rational connections with us. Should this produce the amendment of our federal constitution, of which your papers give us hopes, we shall receive a permanent indemnification for a temporary loss.

All things here, promise an arrangement between the Emperor and Dutch. Their ministers have signed preliminary articles, some of which, however, leave room for further cavil. The Dutch pay ten millions of florins, yield some forts and territory, and the navigation of the Scheldt to Saftingen. Till our treaty with England be fully executed, it is desirable to us, that all the world should be in peace. That done, their wars would do us little harm.

I find myself under difficulties here, which I will take the liberty of explaining to you as a friend. Mr. Carmichael lately drew a bill on Mr. Grand for four thousand livres, I suppose, for his salary. Mr. Grand said, he was not used to accept drafts, but by the desire of Dr. Franklin, and rested it on me to say, whether this bill should be paid or not. I thought it improper, that the credit of so confidential a person as Mr. Carmichael, should be affected by a refusal, and therefore advised payment. Mr. Dumas has drawn on me for twenty-seven hundred livres, his half year's salary, informing

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me he always drew on Dr. Franklin. I shall advise the payment. I have had loan office bills, drawn on the commissioners of the United States, presented to me. My answer has been, "These are very old bills. Had they been presented while those gentlemen were in Europe, they would have been paid. You kept them up till Dr. Franklin, the last of them, has returned to America; you must therefore send them there, and they will be paid. I am not the drawee described in the bill." It is impossible for me to meddle with these bills. The gentlemen who had been familiar with them, from the beginning, who kept books of them, and knew well the form of these books, often paid bills twice. But how can I interfere with them, who have not a scrip of a pen on their subject, who never saw a book relating to them, and who, if I had the books, should much oftener be bewildered in the labyrinth, than the gentlemen who have kept them? I think it, therefore, most advisable, that what bills remain out, should be sent back to America for payment, and therefore advise Mr. Barclay to return thither, all the books and papers relative to them. There is the proper and ultimate deposit of all records of this nature. All these articles are very foreign to my talents, and foreign also, as I conceive, to the nature of my duties. Dr. Franklin was obliged to meddle with them, from the circumstances which existed. But, these having ceased, I suppose it practicable for your board to direct the administration of your

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moneys here, in every circumstance. It is only necessary for me to draw my own allowances, and to order payment for services done by others, by my direction, and within the immediate line of my office; such as paying couriers, postage, and other extraordinary services, which must rest on my discretion, and at my risk, if disapproved by Congress. I will thank you for your advice on this subject, and if you think a resolution of your board necessary, I will pray you to send me such a one, and that it may relieve me from all concerns with the money of the United States, other than those I have just spoken of. I do not mean by this, to testify a disposition to render no service but what is rigorously within my duty. I am the farthest in the world from this; it is a question I shall never ask myself; nothing making me more happy than to render any service in my power, of whatever description. But I wish only to be excused from intermeddling in business in which I have no skill, and should do more harm than good.

Congress were pleased to order me an advance of two quarters' salary. At that time, I supposed that I might refund it, or spare so much from my expenses, by the time the third quarter became due. Probably, they might expect the same. But it has been impossible. The expense of my outfit, though I have taken it up, on a scale as small as could be admitted, has been very far beyond what I had conceived. I have, therefore, not only been unable

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to refund the advance ordered, but been obliged to go beyond it. I wished to have avoided so much, as was occasioned by the purchase of furniture. But those who hire furniture, asked me forty per cent. a year, for the use of it. It was better to buy, therefore; and this article, clothes, carriage, &c., have amounted to considerably more than the advance ordered. Perhaps, it may be thought reasonable to allow me an outfit. The usage of every other nation has established this, and reason really pleads for it. I do not wish to make a shilling; but only my expenses to be defrayed, and in a moderate style. On the most moderate, which the reputation or interest of those I serve, would admit, it will take me several years to liquidate the advances for my outfit. I mention this, to enable you to understand the necessities which have obliged me to call for more money than was probably expected, and, understanding them, to explain them to others. Being perfectly disposed to conform myself decisively, to what shall be thought proper, you cannot oblige me more, than by communicating to me your sentiments hereon, which I shall receive as those of a friend, and govern myself accordingly.

I am, with the most perfect esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, October 6, 1785.

SIR—My letter of August the 30th, acknowledged the receipt of yours of July the 13th. Since that, I have received your letter of August the 13th, enclosing a correspondence between the Marquis de La Fayette and Monsieur de Calonnes, and another of the same date, enclosing the papers in Fortin's case. I immediately wrote to M. Limozin, at Havre, desiring he would send me a state of the case, and inform me what were the difficulties which suspended its decision. He has promised me, by letter, to do this as soon as possible, and I shall not fail in attention to it.

The Emperor and Dutch have signed preliminaries, which are now made public. You will see them in the papers which accompany this. They still leave a good deal to discussion. However, it is probable they will end in peace. The party in Holland, possessed actually of the sovereignty, wish for peace, that they may push their designs on the Stadtholderate. This country wishes for peace, because her finances need arrangement. The Bavarian exchange has produced to public view, that jealousy and rancor between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which existed before, though it was smothered. This will appear by the declarations of the two courts. The demarcation between the Emperor and Turk does not advance. Still, however, I suppose neither

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of those two germs of war likely to open soon. I consider the conduct of France as the best evidence of this. If she had apprehended a war from either of those quarters, she would not have been so anxious to leave the Emperor one enemy the less, by placing him at peace with the Dutch. While she is exerting all her powers to preserve peace by land, and making no preparation which indicates a fear of its being disturbed in that quarter, she is pushing her naval preparations, with a spirit unexampled in time of peace. By the opening of the next spring, she will have eighty ships, of seventy-four guns and upwards, ready for sea, at a moment's warning; and the further constructions proposed, will probably, within two years, raise the number to an hundred. New regulations have been made, too, for perfecting the classification of her seamen; an institution, which, dividing all the seamen of the nation into classes, subjects them to tours of duty by rotation, and enables government, at all times, to man their ships. Their works for rendering Cherbourg a harbor for their vessels of war, and Dunkirk, for frigates and privateers, leave now little doubt of success. It is impossible that these preparations can have in view, any other nation than the English. Of course, they show a greater diffidence of their peace with them, than with any other power.

I mentioned to you, in my letter of August the 14th, that I had desired Captain John Paul Jones to inquire into the circumstances of Peyrouse's expe-

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dition. I have now the honor of enclosing you copies of my letter to him, and of his answer. He refuses to accept of my indemnification for his expenses, which is an additional proof of his disinterested spirit, and of his devotion to the service of America. The circumstances are obvious, which indicate an intention to settle factories, and not colonies, at least for the present. However, nothing shows for what place they are destined. The conjectures are divided between New Holland, and the Northwest coast of America.

According to what I mentioned in my letter of August 30th, I have appointed Mr. Short my secretary here. I enclose to you copies of my letters to him and Mr. Grand, which will show to Congress that he stands altogether at their pleasure. I mention this circumstance, that, if what I have done meets with their disapprobation, they may have the goodness to signify it immediately, as I should otherwise conclude that they do not disapprove it. I shall be ready to conform myself to what would be most agreeable to them.

This will be accompanied by the gazettes of France and Leyden, to the present date.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

PARIS, October 11, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I received, last night, the letter signed by yourself and the other gentlemen, delegates of Massachusetts and Virginia, recommending Mr. Sayer for the Barbary negotiations. As that was the first moment of its suggestion to me, you will perceive, by my letter of this day, to Mr. Jay, that the business was already established in other hands, as your letter came at the same time with the papers actually signed by Mr. Adams, for Messrs. Barclay and Lambe, according to arrangements previously taken between us. I should, with great satisfaction, have acceded to the recommendation in the letter: not indeed as to Morocco, because, no better man than Mr. Barclay could have been substituted; but as to Algiers, Mr. Lambe being less known to me. However, I hope well of him, and rely considerably on the aid he will receive from his secretary, Mr. Randall, who bears a very good character. I suppose Mr. Adams entitled to the same just apology, as matters were settled otherwise, before he probably received your letter. I pray you to communicate this to the other gentlemen of your and our delegation, as my justification.

The peace made between the Emperor and Dutch leaves Europe quiet for this campaign. As yet, we do not know where the storm, dissipated for the moment, will gather again. Probably over Bavaria or Turkey. But this will be for another year.

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When our instructions were made out, they were conceived on a general scale, and supposed that all the European nations would be disposed to form commercial connections with us. It is evident, however, that a very different degree of importance was annexed to these different States. Spain, Portugal, England and France, were most important. Holland, Sweden, Denmark, in a middling degree. The others, still less so. Spain treats in another line. Portugal is disposed to do the same. England will not treat at all; nor will France, probably, add to her former treaty. Failing in the execution of these our capital objects, it has appeared to me that the pushing the treaties with the lesser powers might do us more harm than good, by hampering the measures the States may find it necessary to take, for securing those commercial interests, by separate measures, which is refused to be done here, in concert. I have understood through various channels, that the members of Congress wished a change in our instructions. I have, in my letter to Mr. Jay, of this date, mentioned the present situation and aspect of these treaties, for their information.

My letter of the 6th instant, to Mr. Jay, having communicated what little there is new here, I have only to add assurances of the sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

PARIS, October 11, 1785.

SIR,—I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency a report of the voyage of an American ship, the first which has gone to China. The circumstances which induces Congress to direct this communication is the very friendly conduct of the consul of his Majesty at Macao, and of the commanders and other officers of the French vessels in those seas. It has been with singular satisfaction that Congress have seen these added to the many other proofs of the cordiality of this nation towards our citizens. It is the more pleasing, when it appears in the officers of government, because it is then viewed as an emanation of the spirit of the government. It would be an additional gratification to Congress, in this particular instance, should any occasion arise of notifying those officers, that their conduct has been justly represented to your Excellency on the part of the United States, and has met your approbation. Nothing will be wanting, on our part, to foster corresponding dispositions in our citizens, and we hope that proofs of their actual existence have appeared, and will appear, whenever occasion shall offer. A sincere affection between the two people is the broadest basis on which their peace can be built.

It will always be among the most pleasing functions of my office, to be made the channel of com-

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municating the friendly sentiments of the two governments. It is additionally so, as it gives me an opportunity of assuring your Excellency of the high respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, October 11, 1785.

SIR,—In my letter of August the 14th, I had the honor of expressing to you the uneasiness I felt, at the delay of the instructions on the subject of the Barbary treaties, of which Mr. Lambe was the bearer, and of informing you that I had proposed to Mr. Adams, that if he did not arrive either in the French or English packets, then expected, we should send some person to negotiate these treaties. As he did not arrive in those packets, and I found Mr. Barclay was willing to undertake the negotiations, I wrote to Mr. Adams (who had concurred in the proposition made him), informing him that Mr. Barclay would go, and proposing papers for our immediate signature. The day before the return of the courier, Mr. Lambe arrived with our instructions, the letters of credence, &c., enclosed in yours of March the 11th, 1785. Just about the same time, came to hand the letter No. 1, informing me, that two American vessels were actually taken and carried into Algiers, and leaving no further doubt that that

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power was exercising hostilities against us, in the Atlantic. The conduct of the Emperor of Morocco had been such, as forbade us to postpone his treaty to that with Algiers. But the commencement of hostilities by the latter, and their own activity, pressed the necessity of immediate propositions to them. It was therefore thought best, while Mr. Barclay should be proceeding with the Emperor of Morocco, that some other agent should go to Algiers. We had few subjects to choose out of. Mr. Lambe's knowledge of the country, of its inhabitants, of their manner of transacting business, the recommendations from his State to Congress of his fitness for this employment, and other information founding a presumption that he would be approved, occasioned our concluding to send him to Algiers. The giving him proper authorities, and new ones to Mr. Barclay conformable to our own powers, was the subject of a new courier between Mr. Adams and myself. He returned last night, and I had the honor of enclosing you copies of all the papers we furnish those gentlemen with; which will possess Congress fully of our proceedings herein. They are numbered from two to ten inclusive. The supplementary instruction to Mr. Lambe, No. 5, must rest for justification on the emergency of the case. The motives which led to it must be found in the feelings of the human heart, in a partiality for those sufferers who are of our own country, and in the obligations of every government to yield protection to their citizens, as the considera-

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tion of their obedience. It will be a comfort to know that Congress does not disapprove this step.

Considering the treaty with Portugal among the most interesting to the United States, I some time ago took occasion at Versailles, to ask of the Portuguese ambassador if he had yet received from his court an answer to our letter. He told me he had not; but that he would make it the subject of another letter. Two days ago, his secretaire d'ambassade called on me, with a letter from his minister to the ambassador, in which was the following paragraph, as he translated it to me; and I committed it to writing from his mouth. "Your Excellency has communicated to us the substance of your conversation with the American minister. That power ought to have been already persuaded, by the manner in which its vessels have been received here; and consequently that his Majesty would have much satisfaction, in maintaining perfect harmony and good understanding with the same United States. But it would be proper to begin with the reciprocal nomination, on both sides, of persons, who, at least with the character of agents, might reciprocally inform their constituents of what might conduce to a knowledge of the interests of the two nations, without prejudice to either. This first step appears necessary to lead to the proposed object."

By this, it would seem, that this power is more disposed to pursue a track of negotiation, similar to that which Spain has done. I consider this answer

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as definitive of all further measures, under our commission to Portugal. That to Spain was superseded by proceedings in another line. That to Prussia is concluded by actual treaty; to Tuscany will probably be so; and perhaps to Denmark; and these, I believe, will be the sum of the effects of our commissions for making treaties of alliance. England shows no disposition to treat. France, should her ministers be able to keep the ground of the *Arret* of August 1784 against the clamors of her merchants, and should they be disposed, hereafter, to give us more, very probably will not bind herself to it by treaty, but keep her regulations dependent on her own will. Sweden will establish a free port at St. Bartholemew's, which, perhaps, will render any new engagement, on our part, unnecessary. Holland is so immovable in her system of colony administration, that, as propositions to her, on that subject, would be desperate, they had better not be made. You will perceive by the letter No. 11, from the Marquis de La Fayette, that there is a possibility of an overture from the Emperor. A hint from the Chargé des Affaires of Naples, lately, has induced me to suppose something of the same kind from thence. But the advanced period of our commissions now offers good cause for avoiding to begin what probably cannot be terminated during their continuance; and with respect to these two, and all other powers not before mentioned, I doubt whether the advantages to be derived from treaties with them will counter-

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vail the additional embarrassments they may impose on the States, when they shall proceed to make those commercial arrangements necessary to counteract the designs of the British cabinet. I repeat it, therefore, that the conclusion of the treaty with Prussia, and the probability of others with Denmark, Tuscany, and the Barbary States, may be expected to wind up the proceedings of the general commissions. I think that, in possible events, it may be advantageous to us, by treaties with Prussia, Denmark, and Tuscany, to have secured ports in Northern and Mediterranean seas. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. ADAMS.

PARIS, October 11, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Colonel Franks and Mr. Randolph arrived last night. This enables me to send copies of all the Barbary papers to Congress by the Messrs. Fitzhughs, together with the Prussian treaty. They wait till to-morrow for that purpose. Considering the treaty with Portugal as among the most important to the United States, I, some time ago, took occasion at Versailles to ask the Portuguese Ambassador if he had not received an answer from his court on the subject of our treaty. He said not, but that he would write again. His secretaire d' ambassade called on me two days ago, and trans-

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lated into French, as follows, a paragraph of a letter from his minister to the ambassador: "Relativement à ce que V. E. nous a fait part de ce qu'elle avoit parlé avec le ministre de l'Amérique, cette puissance doit être déjà persuadée par d'effets la manière dont ses vaisseaux ont été accueillis ici; et par conséquence sa majesté auroit beacoup de satisfaction à entretenir une parfaite harmonie et bon correspondence entre les mêmes Etats Unis. Mais il seroit à propos de commencer par la nomination réciproque des deux parties des personnes, qui, au moins avec la caractère d'agens, informeroient réciproquement leurs constituents de ce qui pourroit conduire à la connoisance des intérêts des deux nations sans préjudice de l'un ou de l'autre. C'est le premier pas qu'il paroit convenable de donner pour conduire à la fin proposée." By this, I suppose, they will prefer proceeding as Spain has done, and that we may consider it as definitive of our commission to them. I communicate it to Congress that they may take such other measures for leading on a negotiation as they may think proper.

You know that the 3d article of instructions of October 29, 1783, to the ministers for negotiating peace, directed them to negotiate the claim for the prizes taken by the alliance and sent into Bergen, but delivered up by the court of Denmark; you recollect, also, that this has been deferred in order to be taken up with the general negotiation for an alliance. Captain Jones, desiring to go to America,

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proposed to me that he should leave the solicitation of this matter in the hands of Doctor Bancroft, and to ask you to negotiate it, through the minister of Denmark at London. The delay of Baron Waltersdorf is one reason for this. Your better acquaintance with the subject is a second. The Danish minister here being absent, is a third. And a fourth and more conclusive one is that, having never acted as one of the commissioners for negotiating the peace, I feel an impropriety in meddling with it at all, and much more to become the principal agent. I therefore told Captain Jones I would solicit your care of this business. I believe he writes to you on the subject.

Mr. Barclay sets out in two or three days. Lambe will follow as soon as the papers can be got from this ministry. Having no news, I shall only add assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MESSRS. VAN STAPHORST.

PARIS, October 12, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—The receipt of your favor, of September the 19th, should not have been so long unacknowledged, but that I have been peculiarly and very closely engaged ever since it came to hand.

With respect to the expediency of the arrangement you propose to make with Mr. Parker, I must observe to you, that it would be altogether out of

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my province to give an official opinion for your direction. These transactions appertain altogether to the commissioners of the treasury, to whom you have very properly written on the occasion. I shall always be willing, however, to apprise you of any facts I may be acquainted with, and which might enable you to proceed with more certainty; and even to give my private opinion, where I am acquainted with the subject, leaving you the most perfect liberty to give it what weight you may think proper. In the present case, I cannot give even a private opinion, because I am not told what are precisely the securities offered by Mr. Parker. So various are the securities of the United States, that unless they are precisely described by their dates, consideration, and other material circumstances, no man on earth can say what they are worth. One fact, however, is certain, that all debts of any considerable amount contracted by the United States, while their paper money existed, are subject to a deduction, and not payable at any fixed period. I think I may venture to say, also, that there are no debts of the United States, "on the same footing with the money loaned by Holland," except those due to the Kings of France and Spain. However, I hope you will soon receive the answer of the commissioners, which alone can decide authoritatively what is to be done.

Congress have thought proper to entrust to Mr. Adams and myself a certain business, which may

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eventually call for great advances of money, perhaps four hundred thousand livres or upwards. They have authorized us to draw for this on their funds in Holland. The separate situation of Mr. Adams and myself, rendering joint drafts inconvenient, we have agreed that they shall be made by him alone. You will be pleased, therefore, to give the same credit to these bills, drawn by him, as if they were also subscribed by me.

I have the honor to be, with high respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MONSIEUR DESBORDES.

PARIS, October 12, 1785.

SIR,—There are in the prison of St. Pol de Leon six or seven citizens of the United States of America, charged with having attempted a contraband of tobacco, but, as they say themselves, forced into that port by stress of weather. I believe that they are innocent. Their situation is described me to be as deplorable as should be that of men found guilty of the worst of crimes. They are in close jail, allowed three sous a day only, and unable to speak a word of the language of the country. I hope their distress, which it is my duty to relieve, and the recommendation of Mr. Barclay to address myself to you, will apologize for the liberty I take of asking you to advise them what to do for their defence, to engage some good lawyer for them, and to pass to

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them the pecuniary reliefs necessary. I write to Mr. Lister Asquith, the owner of the vessel, that he may draw bills on me, from time to time, for a livre a day for every person of them, and what may be necessary to engage a lawyer for him. I will pray the favor of you to furnish him money for his bills, drawn on me for these purposes, which I will pay on sight. You will judge if he should go beyond this allowance, and be so good as to reject the surplus. I must desire his lawyer to send me immediately a state of their case, and let me know in what court their process is, and when it is likely to be decided. I hope the circumstances of the case will excuse the freedom I take; and I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO HOGENDORP.

PARIS, October 13, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Having been much engaged lately, I have been unable sooner to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of September the 8th. What you are pleased to say on the subject of my Notes is more than they deserve. The condition in which you first saw them would prove to you how hastily they had been originally written, as you may remember the numerous insertions I had made in them from time to time, when I could find a moment for turning to them from other occupations. I have never yet

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seen Monsieur de Buffon. He has been in the country all the summer. I sent him a copy of the book, and have only heard his sentiments on one particular of it, that of the identity of the mammoth and elephant. As to this, he retains his opinion that they are the same. If you had formed any considerable expectations from our revised code of laws, you will be much disappointed. It contains not more than three or four laws which could strike the attention of a foreigner. Had it been a digest of all our laws, it would not have been comprehensible or instructive but to a native. But it is still less so, as it digests only the British statutes and our own acts of Assembly, which are but a supplementary part of our law. The great basis of it is anterior to the date of the Magna Charta, which is the oldest statute extant. The only merit of this work is, that it may remove from our book shelves about twenty folio volumes of our statutes, retaining all the parts of them which either their own merit or the established system of laws required.

You ask me what are those operations of the British nation which are likely to befriend us, and how they will produce this effect? The British government, as you may naturally suppose, have it much at heart to reconcile their nation to the loss of America. This is essential to the repose, perhaps even to the safety of the King and his ministers. The most effectual engines for this purpose are the public papers. You know well that that govern-

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ment always kept a kind of standing army of news-writers, who, without any regard to truth, or to what should be like truth, invented and put into the papers whatever might serve the ministers. This suffices with the mass of the people, who have no means of distinguishing the false from the true paragraphs of a newspaper. When forced to acknowledge our independence, they were forced to redouble their efforts to keep the nation quiet. Instead of a few of the papers formerly engaged, they now engaged every one. No paper, therefore, comes out without a dose of paragraphs against America. These are calculated for a secondary purpose also, that of preventing the emigrations of their people to America. They dwell very much on American bankruptcies. To explain these would require a long detail, but would show you that nine-tenths of these bankruptcies are truly English bankruptcies, in no wise chargeable on America. However, they have produced effects the most desirable of all others for us. They have destroyed our credit, and thus checked our disposition to luxury; and, forcing our merchants to buy no more than they have ready money to pay for, they force them to go to those markets where that ready money will buy most. Thus you see, they check our luxury, they force us to connect ourselves with all the world, and they prevent foreign emigrations to our country, all of which I consider as advantageous to us. They are doing us another good turn. They attempt, without disguise, to

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possess themselves of the carriage of our produce, and to prohibit our own vessels from participating of it. This has raised a general indignation in America. The States see, however, that their constitutions have provided no means of counteracting it. They are, therefore, beginning to invest Congress with the absolute power of regulating their commerce, only reserving all revenue arising from it to the State in which it is levied. This will consolidate our federal building very much, and for this we shall be indebted to the British.

You ask what I think on the expediency of encouraging our States to be commercial? Were I to indulge my own theory, I should wish them to practise neither commerce nor navigation, but to stand, with respect to Europe, precisely on the footing of China. We should thus avoid wars, and all our citizens would be husbandmen. Whenever, indeed, our numbers should so increase as that our produce would overstock the markets of those nations who should come to seek it, the farmers must either employ the surplus of their time in manufactures, or the surplus of our hands must be employed in manufactures or in navigation. But that day would, I think, be distant, and we should long keep our workmen in Europe, while Europe should be drawing rough materials, and even subsistence from America. But this is theory only, and a theory which the servants of America are not at liberty to follow. Our people have a decided taste for navigation and

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commerce. They take this from their mother country; and their servants are in duty bound to calculate all their measures on this datum: we wish to do it by throwing open all the doors of commerce, and knocking off its shackles. But as this cannot be done for others, unless they will do it for us, and there is no great probability that Europe will do this, I suppose we shall be obliged to adopt a system which may shackle them in our ports, as they do us in theirs.

With respect to the sale of our lands, that cannot begin till a considerable portion shall have been surveyed. They cannot begin to survey till the fall of the leaf of this year, nor to sell probably till the ensuing spring. So that it will be yet a twelvemonth before we shall be able to judge of the efficacy of our land office to sink our national debt. It is made a fundamental, that the proceeds shall be solely and sacredly applied as a sinking fund to discharge the capital only of the debt.

It is true that the tobaccos of Virginia go almost entirely to England. The reason is, the people of that State owe a great debt there, which they are paying as fast as they can. I think I have now answered your several queries, and shall be happy to receive your reflections on the same subjects, and at all times to hear of your welfare, and to give you assurances of the esteem, with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO J. BANNISTER, JUNIOR.

PARIS, October 15, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I should sooner have answered the paragraph in your letter, of September the 19th, respecting the best seminary for the education of youth in Europe, but that it was necessary for me to make inquiries on the subject. The result of these has been, to consider the competition as resting between Geneva and Rome. They are equally cheap, and probably are equal in the course of education pursued. The advantage of Geneva is, that students acquire there the habit of speaking French. The advantages of Rome are, the acquiring a local knowledge of a spot so classical and so celebrated; the acquiring the true pronunciation of the Latin language; a just taste in the fine arts, more particularly those of painting, sculpture, architecture, and music; a familiarity with those objects and processes of agriculture which experience has shown best adapted to a climate like ours; and lastly, the advantage of a fine climate for health. It is probable, too, that by being boarded in a French family, the habit of speaking that language may be obtained. I do not count on any advantage to be derived, in Geneva, from a familiar acquaintance with the principles of that government. The late revolution has rendered it a tyrannical aristocracy, more likely to give ill than good ideas to an American. I think the balance in favor of Rome.

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Pisa is sometimes spoken of as a place of education. But it does not offer the first and third of the advantages of Rome. But why send an American youth to Europe for education? What are the objects of an useful American education? Classical knowledge, modern languages, chiefly French, Spanish, and Italian; Mathematics, Natural philosophy, Natural history, Civil history, and Ethics. In Natural philosophy, I mean to include Chemistry and Agriculture, and in Natural history, to include Botany, as well as the other branches of those departments. It is true that the habit of speaking the modern languages cannot be so well acquired in America; but every other article can be as well acquired at William and Mary college, as at any place in Europe. When college education is done with, and a young man is to prepare himself for public life, he must cast his eyes (for America) either on Law or Physics. For the former. where can he apply so advantageously as to Mr. Wythe? For the latter, he must come to Europe: the medical class of students, therefore, is the only one which need come to Europe. Let us view the disadvantages of sending a youth to Europe. To enumerate them all, would require a volume. I will select a few. If he goes to England, he learns drinking, horse racing, and boxing. These are the peculiarities of English education. The following circumstances are common to education in that, and the other countries of Europe. He acquires a fondness for European luxury and dissipation, and a

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contempt for the simplicity of his own country; he is fascinated with the privileges of the European aristocrats, and sees, with abhorrence, the lovely equality which the poor enjoy with the rich, in his own country; he contracts a partiality for aristocracy or monarchy; he forms foreign friendships which will never be useful to him, and loses the seasons of life for forming, in his own country, those friendships which, of all others, are the most faithful and permanent; he is led, by the strongest of all the human passions, into a spirit for female intrigue, destructive of his own and others' happiness, or a passion for whores, destructive of his health, and, in both cases, learns to consider fidelity to the marriage bed as an ungentlemanly practice, and inconsistent with happiness; he recollects the voluptuary dress and arts of the European women, and pities and despises the chaste affections and simplicity of those of his own country; he retains, through life, a fond recollection, and a hankering after those places, which were the scenes of his first pleasures and of his first connections; he returns to his own country, a foreigner, unacquainted with the practices of domestic economy, necessary to preserve him from ruin, speaking and writing his native tongue as a foreigner, and therefore unqualified to obtain those distinctions, which eloquence of the pen and tongue ensures in a free country; for I would observe to you, that what is called style in writing or speaking is formed very early in life, while the imagination

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is warm, and impressions are permanent. I am of opinion, that there never was an instance of a man's writing or speaking his native tongue with elegance, who passed from fifteen to twenty years of age out of the country where it was spoken. Thus, no instance exists of a person's writing two languages perfectly. That will always appear to be his native language, which was most familiar to him in his youth. It appears to me, then, that an American, coming to Europe for education, loses in his knowledge, in his morals, in his health, in his habits, and in his happiness. I had entertained only doubts on this head before I came to Europe: what I see and hear, since I came here, proves more than I had even suspected. Cast your eye over America: who are the men of most learning, of most eloquence, most beloved by their countrymen and most trusted and promoted by them? They are those who have been educated among them, and whose manners, morals, and habits, are perfectly homogeneous with those of the country.

Did you expect by so short a question, to draw such a sermon on yourself? I dare say you did not. But the consequences of foreign education are alarming to me, as an American. I sin, therefore, through zeal, whenever I enter on the subject. You are sufficiently American to pardon me for it. Let me hear of your health, and be assured of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO BARON THULEMEYER.

PARIS, October 16, 1785.

SIR,—I am to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of the 11th instant, with which you have honored me, and wherein you are pleased to inform me of the satisfaction of his Prussian Majesty of the treaty of amity and commerce between him and the United States of America. On our part, the earliest opportunity was embraced of forwarding it to Congress. It goes by a vessel sailing about this time from Havre. I shall with great pleasure communicate to you its ratification by Congress, in the first moment in which it shall become known to me, and concur in the measures necessary for exchanging the ratifications.

I shall take the greatest care to forward the letter you are pleased to enclose for Baltimore, according to its address.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, October 18, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 29th of September, came safely to hand: the constant expectation of the departure of the persons whom I formerly gave you reason to expect has prevented my writing, as it has done yours. They will probably leave here in

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a week, but their route will be circuitous and attended with delays. Between the middle and last of November, they may be with you. By them, you will receive a cypher, by which you may communicate with Mr. Adams and myself. I should have sent it by Baron Dreyer, the Danish minister; but I then expected our own conveyance would have been quicker. Having mentioned this gentleman, give me leave to recommend him to your acquaintance. He is plain, sensible, and open: he speaks English well, and had he been to remain here, I should have cultivated his acquaintance much. Be so good as to present me very respectfully to him.

This being to go by post, I shall only add the few articles of general American news, by the last packet. Dr. Franklin arrived in good health at Philadelphia, the 15th ult., and was received amidst the acclamations of an immense crowd. No late event has produced greater demonstrations of joy. It is doubted whether Congress will adjourn this summer; but they are so thin, they do not undertake important business. Our western posts are in *statu quo*.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO COUNT DE ARANDA.

PARIS, October 22, 1785.

SIR,—The friendly dispositions which the Court of Madrid have been pleased to show towards us in our

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affairs relative to the Barbary Powers, induce me to trouble you with an application on that subject. We are about sending persons to Morocco and Algiers to form arrangements with those powers. They will go by the way of Madrid. I ask the favor of your Excellency's passports for them. It would increase their value much if they could protect those persons from having their baggage searched. The one going to Morocco takes with him about a thousand guineas worth of watches, rings, and other things of that nature: he who goes to Algiers takes about a fourth of that value. I pledge myself that these, with their necessary clothes, will constitute the whole of their baggage, and that these are neither to be sold nor left in Spain. The duties to which these things would be subject are of no consideration with us. It is to avoid the delays, the difficulties, and even the losses which may accrue from the examination of small and precious things on the road. Two separate passports will be acceptable: the one for Thomas Barclay, and David S. Franks, and their servants; the other for John Lambe and ——— Randall, and their servants. We propose to keep these transactions as much as we can from the eyes of the public.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

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TO MESSRS. VAN STAPHORSTS.

PARIS, October 25, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—I received yesterday your favor of the 20th instant. In order to give you the information you desire on the subject of the *liquidated* debts of the United States, and the comparative footing on which they stand, I must observe to you, that the first and great division of our federal debt, is, into 1, foreign; and 2, domestic. The foreign debt comprehends, 1, the loan from the government of Spain; 2, the loans from the government of France, and from the Farmers General; 3, the loans negotiated in Holland, by order of Congress. This branch of our debt stands absolutely singular; no man in the United States having ever supposed that Congress, or their legislatures, can, in any wise, modify or alter it. They justly view the United States as the one party, and the lenders as the other, and that the consent of both would be requisite, were any modification to be proposed. But with respect to the domestic debt, they consider Congress as representing both the borrowers and lenders, and that the modifications which have taken place in this have been necessary to do justice between the two parties, and that they flowed properly from Congress as their mutual umpire. The domestic debt comprehends 1, the army debt; 2, the loan office debt; 3, the liquidated debt; and 4, the unliquidated debt. The first term includes debts to the officers and

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soldiers for pay, bounty and subsistence. The second term means moneys put into the loan office of the United States. The third comprehends all debts contracted by quarter-masters, commissaries, and others duly authorized to procure supplies for the army, and which have been liquidated (that is, settled) by commissioners appointed under the resolution of Congress, of June the 12th, 1780, or by the officer who made the contract. The fourth comprehends the whole mass of debts, described in the preceding article, which have not yet been liquidated. These are in a course of liquidation, and are passing over daily into the third class. The debts of this third class, that is, the liquidated debt, is the object of your inquiry. No time is fixed for the payment of it, no fund as yet determined, nor any firm provision for the interest in the meantime. The consequence is, that the certificates of these debts sell greatly below par. When I left America, they could be bought for from two shillings and sixpence to fifteen shillings in the pound: this difference proceeding from the circumstance of some States having provided for paying the interest on those due in their own State, which others had not. Hence, an opinion had arisen with some, and propositions had even been made in the legislatures, for paying off the principal of these debts with what they had cost the holder, and interest on that. This opinion is far from being general, and I think will not prevail. But it is among possible events.

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I have been thus particular, that you may be able to judge, not only in the present case, but also in others, should any attempts be made to speculate in your city, on these papers. It is a business, in which foreigners will be in great danger of being duped. It is a science which bids defiance to the powers of reason. To understand it, a man must not only be on the spot, and be perfectly possessed of all the circumstances relative to every species of these papers, but he must have that dexterity which the habit of buying and selling them alone gives. The brokers of these certificates are few in number, and any other person venturing to deal with them, engages in a very unequal contest.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, November 4, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I had the honor of writing you on the 18th of October, and again, on the 25th of the same month. Both letters, being to pass through the post offices, were confined to particular subjects. The first of them acknowledged the receipt of yours, of September the 29th.

At length a confidential opportunity arrives for conveying to you a cypher; it will be handed you by the bearer, Mr. Lambe. Copies of it are in the hands of Mr. Adams, at London, Mr. Barclay, who

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is proceeding to Morocco, and Mr. Lambe, who is proceeding to Algiers. This enables us to keep up such correspondences with each other, as may be requisite. Congress, in the spring of 1784, gave powers to Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin and myself, to treat with the Barbary States. But they gave us no money for them, and the other duties assigned us render it impossible for us to proceed thither in person. These things having been represented to them, they assigned to us a certain sum of money, and gave us powers to delegate agents to treat with those States, and to form preliminary articles, but confining to us the signing of them in a definitive form. They did not restrain us in the appointment of the agents; but the orders of Congress were brought to us by Mr. Lambe, they had waited for him four months, and the recommendations he brought pointed him out, in our opinion, as a person who would meet the approbation of Congress. We therefore appointed him to negotiate with the Algerines. His manners and appearance are not promising. But he is a sensible man, and seems to possess some talents which may be proper in a matter of bargain. We have joined with him, as secretary, a Mr. Randall, from New York, in whose prudence we hope he will find considerable aid. They now proceed to Madrid, merely with the view of seeing you, as we are assured they will receive from you lights which may be useful to them. I hear that d'Expilly and the Algerine ministers have

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gone from Madrid. Letters from Algiers, of August the 24th, inform me that we had two vessels and their crews in captivity there, at that time. I never had reason to believe, certainly, that any others had been captured. Should Mr. Lambe have occasion to draw bills, while in Spain, on Mr. Adams, you may safely assure the purchasers that they will be paid.

An important matter detains Mr. Barclay some days longer, and his journey to Madrid will be circuitous. Perhaps he may arrive there a month later than Lambe. It would be well if the Emperor of Morocco could, in the meantime, know that such a person is on the road. Perhaps you may have an opportunity of notifying this to him officially, by asking from him passports for Mr. Barclay and his suite. This would be effecting two good purposes at once, if you can find an opportunity.

Your letter of September the 2d, did not get to my hands till these arrangements were all taken between Mr. Adams and myself, and the persons appointed. That gave me the first hint that you would have acted in this business. I mean no flattery when I assure you, that no person would have better answered my wishes. At the same time, I doubt whether Mr. Adams and myself should have thought ourselves justifiable in withdrawing a servant of the United States from a post equally important with those which prevented our acting personally in the same business. I am sure, that, remaining where you are, you will be able to forward

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much the business, and that you will do it with a zeal you have hitherto manifested on every occasion.

Your intercourse with America being less frequent than ours, from this place, I will state to you, generally, such new occurrences there, as may be interesting; some of which, perhaps, you will not have been informed of. It was doubtful, at the date of my last letters, whether Congress would adjourn this summer. They were too thin, however, to undertake important business. They had begun arrangements for the establishment of a mint. The Dollar was decided on as the money Unit of America. I believe, they proposed to have gold, silver and copper coins, descending and ascending decimally; viz., a gold coin of ten dollars, a silver coin of one-tenth of a dollar (equal to a Spanish bit), and a copper coin of one-hundredth of a dollar. These parts of the plan, however, were not ultimately decided on. They have adopted the late improvement in the British post office, of sending their mails by the stages. I am told, this is done from New Hampshire to Georgia, and from New York to Albany. Their treasury is administered by a board, of which Mr. Walter Livingston, Mr. Osgood, and Dr. Arthur Lee, are members. Governor Rutledge, who had been appointed minister to the Hague, on the refusal of Governor Livingston, declines coming. We are uncertain whether the States will generally come into the proposition of investing Congress with the regulation of their commerce. Massachusetts

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has passed an act, the first object of which seemed to be, to retaliate on the British commercial measures, but in the close of it, they impose double duties on all goods imported in bottoms not wholly owned by citizens of our States. New Hampshire has followed the example. This is much complained of here, and will probably draw retaliating measures from the States of Europe, if generally adopted in America, or not corrected by the States which have adopted it. It must be our endeavor to keep them quiet on this side the water, under the hope that our countrymen will correct this step; as I trust they will do. It is no ways akin to their general system. I am trying here to get contracts for the supplying the cities of France with whale oil, by the Boston merchants. It would be the greatest relief possible to that State, whose commerce is in agonies, in consequence of being subjected to alien duties on their oil, in Great Britain, which has been heretofore their only market. Can anything be done, in this way, in Spain? Or do they there light their streets in the night?

A fracas, which has lately happened in Boston, becoming a serious matter, I will give you the details of it, as transmitted to Mr. Adams in depositions. A Captain Stanhope, commanding the frigate Mercury, was sent with a convoy of vessels from Nova Scotia to Boston, to get a supply of provisions for that colony. It had happened, that two persons living near Boston, of the names of Dunbar and

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Lowthorp, had been taken prisoners during the war, and transferred from one vessel to another, till they were placed on board Stanhope's ship. He treated them most cruelly, whipping them frequently, in order to make them do duty against their country, as sailors, on board his ship. The ship going to Antigua to refit, he put all his prisoners into jail, first giving Dunbar twenty-four lashes. Peace took place, and the prisoners got home under the general liberation. These men were quietly pursuing their occupations at home, when they heard that Stanhope was in Boston. Their indignation was kindled. They immediately went there, and, meeting Stanhope walking in the mall, Dunbar stepped up to him, and asked him if he recollected him, and the whipping him on board his ship. Having no weapon in his hand, he struck at Stanhope with his fist. Stanhope stepped back and drew his sword. The people interposed, and guarded him to the door of a Mr. Morton, to which he retreated. There, Dunbar again attempted to seize him; but the high sheriff had by this time arrived, who interposed and protected him. The assailants withdrew, and here ended all appearance of force. But Captain Stanhope thought proper to write to the Governor, which brought on the correspondence published in the papers of Europe. Lest you should not have seen it, I enclose it, as cut from a London paper; though not perfectly exact, it is substantially so. You will doubtless judge, that Governor Bowdoin referred

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him properly to the laws for redress, as he was obliged to do, and as would have been done in England, in a like case. Had he applied to the courts, the question would have been, whether they would have punished Dunbar? This must be answered now by conjecture only; and, to form that conjecture, every man must ask himself whether he would not have done as Dunbar did? And whether the people should not have permitted him to return to Stanhope the twenty-four lashes? This affair has been stated in the London papers, without mixing with it one circumstance of truth.

In your letter of the 27th of June, you were so good as to tell me, that you should shortly send off some of the books I had taken the liberty to ask you to get for me, and that your correspondent at Bayonne, would give me notice of their arrival there. Not having heard from him, I mention it to you, lest they should be stopped anywhere.

I am, with great respect, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO RICHARD O'BRYAN.

PARIS, November 4, 1785.

SIR,—I wrote you a short letter on the 29th of September, acknowledging the receipt of yours of August the 24th, from Algiers, and promising that you should hear further from me soon. Mr. Adams, the American minister at London, and myself, have

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agreed to authorize the bearer hereof, Mr. Lambe, to treat for your redemption, and that of your companions taken in American vessels, and, if it can be obtained for sums within our power, we shall have the money paid. But in this, we act without instruction from Congress, and are therefore obliged to take the precaution of requiring, that you bind your owners for yourself and crew, and the other captain, in like manner, his owners for himself and crew, and that each person, separately, make himself answerable for his own redemption, in case Congress requires it. I suppose Congress will not require it; but we have no authority to decide that, but must leave it to their own decision; which renders necessary the precautions I have mentioned, in order to justify ourselves for undertaking to redeem you, without orders. Mr. Lambe is instructed to make no bargain without your approbation, and that of the other prisoners, each for himself. We also direct him to relieve your present necessities. I sincerely wish you a speedy deliverance from your distresses, and a happy return to your family.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO W. W. SEWARD.

PARIS, November 12, 1785.

SIR,—I received the honor of your letter of the 25th ult., written by desire of the associated company of Irish merchants, in London, and return you

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thanks for the kind congratulations you express therein. The freedom of commerce between Ireland and America is undoubtedly very interesting to both countries. If fair play be given to the natural advantages of Ireland, she must come in for a distinguished share of that commerce. She is entitled to it, from the excellence of some of her manufactures, the cheapness of most of them, their correspondence with the American taste, a sameness of language, laws and manners, a reciprocal affection between the people, and the singular circumstance of her being the nearest European land to the United States. I am not at present so well acquainted with the trammels of Irish commerce, as to know what they are, particularly, which obstruct the intercourse between Ireland and America; nor, therefore, what can be the object of a fleet stationed in the western ocean, to intercept that intercourse. Experience, however, has taught us to infer that the fact is probable, because it is impolitic. On the supposition that this interruption will take place, you suggest Ostend as a convenient entrepôt for the commerce between America and Ireland. Here, too, I find myself, on account of the same ignorance of your commercial regulations, at a loss to say why this is preferable to L'Orient, which, you know, is a free port and in great latitude, which is nearer to both parties, and accessible by a less dangerous navigation. I make no doubt, however, that the reasons of the preference are good. You find by

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this essay, that I am not likely to be a very instructive correspondent; you shall find me, however, zealous in whatever may concern the interests of the two countries. The system, into which the United States wished to go, was that of freeing commerce from every shackle. A contrary conduct in Great Britain will occasion them to adopt the contrary system, at least as to that island. I am sure they would be glad, if it should be found practicable, to make that discrimination between Great Britain and Ireland, which their commercial principles, and their affection for the latter, would dictate.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect for yourself and the company for whom you write, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

PARIS, November 14, 1785.

SIR,—I take the liberty of troubling your Excellency on behalf of six citizens of the United States, who have been, for some time, confined in the prison of St. Pol de Leon, and of referring for particulars, to the enclosed state of their case. Some of the material facts, therein mentioned, are founded on the bill of sale for the vessel, her clearance from Baltimore, and her log book. The originals of the two last, and a copy of the first, are in my hands. I have, also, letters from a merchant in Liverpool to

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Asquith, which render it really probable that his vessel was bound to Liverpool. The other circumstances depend on their affirmation, but I must say, that in these facts, they have been uniform and steady. I have thus long avoided troubling your Excellency with this case, in hopes it would receive its decision, in the ordinary course of law, and I relied, that that would indemnify the sufferers, if they had been used unjustly; but though they have been in close confinement, now near three months, it has yet no appearance of approaching to decision. In the meantime, the cold of the winter is coming on, and, to men in their situation, may produce events which would render all indemnification too late. I must, therefore, pray the assistance of your Excellency, for the liberation of their persons, if the established order of things may possibly admit of it. As to their property, and their personal sufferings hitherto, I have full confidence that the laws have provided some tribunal, where justice will be done them. I enclose the opinion of an advocate, forwarded to me by a gentleman whom I had desired to obtain, from some judicious person of that faculty, a state of their case. This may perhaps give a better idea than I can, of the situation of their cause. His inquiries have led him to believe they are innocent men, but that they must lose their vessel under the edict, which forbids those under thirty tons to approach the coast. Admitting their innocence, as he does, I should suppose them not the objects, on

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whom such an edict was meant to operate. The essential papers, which he says they re-demanded from him, and did not return, were sent to me, at my desire.

I am, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

The case of Lister Asquith, owner of the schooner William and Catharine, William M'Neil, captain, William Thomson, William Neily, Robert Anderson, mariners, and William Fowler, passenger.

Lister Asquith, citizen of the State of Maryland, having a law-suit depending in England, which required his presence, as involving in its issue nearly his whole fortune, determined to go thither in a small schooner of his own, that he might, at the same time, take with him an adventure of tobacco and flour to Liverpool, where he had commercial connections. This schooner he purchased as of fifty-nine and a quarter tons, as appears by his bill of sale, but she had been registered by her owner at twenty-one tons, in order to evade the double duties in England, to which American vessels are now subject. He cleared out from Baltimore for Liverpool, the 11th of June, 1785, with eight hogsheads of tobacco and sixty barrels of flour, but ran aground at Smith's point, sprung a leak, and was obliged to return to Baltimore to refit. Having stopped his leak, he took his cargo on board again, and his

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health being infirm, he engaged Captain William M'Neil[1] to go with him, and, on the 20th of June, sailed for Norfolk in Virginia, and, on the 22d, came to in Hampton road, at the mouth of the river on which Norfolk is. Learning here that tobacco would be better than flour for the English market, he landed fifty barrels of his flour and one hogshead of tobacco, which he found to be bad, meaning to take, instead thereof, nine hogsheads of tobacco more. But the same night it began to blow very hard, with much rain. The 23d, the storm became more heavy; they let go both their anchors, but were driven, notwithstanding, from their anchorage, forced to put to sea and to go before the wind. The occurrences of their voyage will be best detailed by short extracts from the log-book.

June 24. The weather becomes worse. One of the fore shrouds and the foremast carried away.

June 25. Shifted their ballast which threw them on their beam ends, and shipped a very heavy sea. Held a consultation, the result of which was, that seeing they were now driven so far to sea, and the weather continuing still very bad, it was better to steer for Liverpool, their port of destination, though

[1] This was the officer who, on the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, after the British had passed the chevaux de frise on the Delaware, was left with fifteen men to destroy the works, which he did, and brought off his men successfully. He had, before that, been commander of the Rattlesnake sloop of war, and had much annoyed the British trade. Being bred a seaman, he has returned to that vocation.

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they had not their cargo on board, and no other clearance but that which they took from Baltimore.

June 29. The first observation they had been able to take N. lat. 38° 13′.

June 30. Winds begin to be light, but the sea still very heavy.

July 5. Light winds and a smooth sea for the first time, in lat. 43° 12′.

July 9. Spoke a French brig, Comte d'Artois, Captain Mieaux, from St. Maloes, in distress for provisions. Relieved her with three barrels of flour.

Aug. 6. Thick weather and a strong wind. Made the Lands' End of England.

Aug. 7. Unable to fetch the land, therefore bore off for Scilly, and came to with both anchors. Drove, notwithstanding, and obliged to get up the anchors, and put to sea, running southwardly.

Aug. 8. Made the land of France, but did not know what part.

Here the log-book ends. At this time they had on board but ten gallons of water, four or five barrels of bread, two or three pounds of candles, no firewood. Their sails unfit to be trusted to any longer, and all their materials for mending them exhausted by the constant repairs which the violence of the weather had called for. They therefore took a pilot aboard, who carried them into Pont Duval; but being informed by the captain of a vessel there that the schooner was too sharp built (as the

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American vessels mostly are) to lie in that port, they put out immediately, and the next morning the pilot brought them to anchor in the road of the Isle de Bas. Asquith went immediately to Roscaff, protested at the admiralty the true state of his case, and reported his vessel and cargo at the custom-house. In making the report of his vessel, he stated her as of twenty-one tons, according to his register. The officer informed him that if she was no larger, she would be confiscated by an edict, which forbids all vessels under thirty tons to approach the coast. He told the officer what was the real truth as to his register and his bill of sale, and was permitted to report her according to the latter. He paid the usual fees of ten livres and seven sols, and obtained a clearance. Notwithstanding this, he was soon visited by other persons whom he supposes to have been commis of the Fermes, who seized his vessel, carried her to the pier, and confined the crew to the vessel and half the pier, putting sentinels over them. They brought a gauger, who measured only her hold and part of her steerage, allowing nothing for the cockpit, cabin, forecastle, and above one-half of the steerage, which is almost half the vessel, and thus made her contents (if that had been of any importance) much below the truth. The tobacco was weighed, and found to be six thousand four hundred and eighty-seven pounds,[1]

[1] A hogshead of tobacco weighs generally about one thousand pounds English, equal to nine hundred and seventeen pounds French. The

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which was sent on the 18th to Landivisian, and on the 19th they were committed to close prison at St. Pol de Leon, where they have been confined ever since. They had, when they first landed, some money, of which they were soon disembarrassed by different persons, who, in various forms, undertook to serve them. Unable to speak or understand a word of the language of the country, friendless, and left without money, they have languished three months in a loathsome jail, without any other sustenance, a great part of the time, than what could be procured for three sous a day, which have been furnished them to prevent their perishing.

They have been made to understand that a criminal process is going on against them under two heads. 1. As having sold tobacco in contraband; and 2, as having entered a port of France in a vessel of less than thirty tons burthen. In support of the first charge, they understand that the circumstance is relied on, of their having been seen off the coast by the employés des Fermes one or two days. They acknowledge they may have been so seen while beating off Pont Duval till they could get a pilot while entering that port, and again going round from thence to the road of the Isle de Bas. The

seven hogsheads he sailed with would therefore weigh, according to this estimate, six thousand four hundred and twenty-three pounds. They actually weighed more on the first essay. When afterwards weighed at Landivisian, they had lost eighty-four pounds on being carried into a drier air. Perhaps, too, a difference of weights may have entered into this apparent loss.

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reasons for this have been explained. They further add, that all the time they were at Pont Duval they had a King's officer on board, from whom, as well as from their pilot and the captain, by whose advice they left that port for the Isle de Bas, information can be obtained by their accusers (who are not imprisoned), of the true motives for that measure. It is said to be urged also, that there was found in their vessel some loose tobacco in a blanket, which excites a suspicion that they had been selling tobacco. When they were stowing their loading, they broke a hogshead, as is always necessary, and is always done, to fill up the stowage, and to consolidate and keep the whole mass firm, and in place. The loose tobacco which had come out of the broken hogshead, they repacked in bags; but in the course of the distress of their disastrous voyage, they had employed these bags, as they had done everything else of the same nature, in mending their sails. The condition of their sails, when they came into port, will prove this, and they were seen by witnesses enough, to whom their accusers, being at their liberty, can have access. Besides, the sale of a part of their tobacco is a fact which, had it taken place, might have been proved; but they deny that it has been proved, or ever can be proved by true men, because it never existed. And they hope the justice of this country does not permit strangers, seeking in her ports an asylum from death, to be thrown into jail and continued there indefinitely, on the possibility of a fact,

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without any proof. More especially when, as in the present case, a demonstration to the contrary is furnished by their clearance, which shows they never had more than eight hogsheads of tobacco on board, of which one had been put ashore at Hampton in Virginia, as has been before related, and the seven others remained when they first entered port. If they had been smugglers of tobacco, the opposite coast offered a much fairer field, because the gain there is as great; because they understand the language and laws of the country, they know its harbors and coasts, and have connections in them. These circumstances are so important to smugglers, that it is believed no instance has ever occurred of the contraband of tobacco, attempted on this side the channel by a crew wholly American. Be this as it may, they are not of that description of men.

As to the second charge, that they have entered a port of France in a vessel of less than thirty tons burthen, they, in the first place, observe that they saw the gauger measure the vessel, and affirm that his method of measuring could render little more than half her true contents; but they say, further, that were she below the size of thirty tons, and, when entering the port, had they known of the alternative of either forfeiting their vessel and cargo, or of perishing at sea, they must still have entered the port: the loss of their vessel and cargo being the lesser evil. But the character of the lawgiver assures them, that the intention of his laws are

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perverted when misapplied to persons who, under their circumstances, take refuge in his ports. They have no occasion to recur from his clemency to his justice, by claiming the benefit of that article in the treaty which binds the two nations together, and which assures to the fugitives of either from the dangers of the sea, a hospitable reception and necessary aids in the ports of the other, and that without measuring the size of their vessel.

Upon the whole, they protest themselves to have been as innocent as they have been unfortunate. Instead of relief in a friendly port, they have seen their misfortunes aggravated by the conduct of officers, who, in their greediness for gain, can see in no circumstance anything but proofs of guilt. They have already long suffered, and are still suffering, whatever scanty sustenance an inclement season and close confinement can offer most distressing to men who have been used to neither, and who have wives and children at home participating of their distresses; they are utterly ignorant of the laws and language of the country where they are suffering; they are deprived of that property which would have enabled them to procure counsel to place their injuries in a a true light; they are distant from the stations of those who are appointed by their country to patronize their rights; they are not at liberty to go to them, nor able to have communication through any other than the uncertain medium of the posts; and they see themselves already ruined by the losses

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and delays they have been made to incur, and by the failure of the original object of their voyage. They throw themselves, therefore, on the patronage of the government, and pray that its energies may be interposed in aid of their poverty and ignorance, to restore them to their liberty, and to extend to them that retribution which the laws of every country mean to extend to those who suffer unjustly.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, November 19, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to you, on the 11th of October, by Mr. Preston, and again on the 18th of the same month, by post. Since that, yours of September the 25th, by Mr. Boylston, of October the 24th, November the 1st, and November the 4th, have come safe to hand. I will take up their several subjects in order. Boylston's object was, first, to dispose of a cargo of spermaceti oil, which he brought to Havre. A secondary one, was to obtain a contract for future supplies. I carried him to the Marquis de La Fayette. As to his first object, we are in hopes of getting the duties taken off, which will enable him to sell his cargo. This has led to discussions with the ministers, which give us a hope that we may get the duties taken off *in perpetuum*. This done, a most abundant market for our oil will be opened by this country, and one which will be absolutely dependent on us; for they have little expectation themselves of

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establishing a successful whale fishery. It is possible they may only take the duties off of those oils, which shall be the produce of associated companies of French and American merchants. But, as yet, nothing certain can be said.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken to obtain insurance on Houdon's life. I place the thirty-two pounds and eleven shillings to your credit, and not being able, as yet, to determine precisely how our account stands, I send a sum by Colonel Smith, which may draw the scales towards a balance.

The determination of the British cabinet to make no equal treaty with us, confirms me in the opinion expressed in your letter of October the 24th, that the United States must pass a navigation act against Great Britain, and load her manufactures with duties, so as to give a preference to those of other countries; and I hope our Assemblies will wait no longer, but transfer such a power to Congress, at the sessions of this fall. I suppose, however, it will only be against Great Britain, and I think it will be right not to involve other nations in the consequences of her injustice. I take for granted, that the commercial system, wished for by Congress, was such a one as should leave commerce on the freest footing possible. This was the plan on which we prepared our general draught for treating with all nations. Of those with whom we were to treat, I ever considered England, France, Spain, and Portu-

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gal as capitally important; the first two, on account of their American possessions, the last, for their European as well as American. Spain is treating in America, and probably will give an advantageous treaty. Portugal shows dispositions to do the same. France does not treat. It is likely enough she will choose to keep the staff in her own hands. But, in the meantime, she gives us an access to her West Indies, which, though not all we wish, is yet extremely valuable to us; this access, indeed, is much affected by the late *Arrets* of the 18th and 25th of September, which I enclose to you. I consider these as a reprisal for the navigation acts of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The minister has complained to me, officially, of these acts, as a departure from the reciprocity stipulated for by the treaty. I have assured him that his complaints shall be communicated to Congress, and, in the meantime, observed that the example of discriminating between foreigners and natives had been set by the *Arret* of August, 1784, and still more remarkably by those of September the 18th and 25th, which, in effect, are a prohibition of our fish in their islands. However, it is better for us that both sides should revise what they have done. I am in hopes this country did not mean these as permanent regulations. Mr. Bingham, lately from Holland, tells me that the Dutch are much dissatisfied with these acts. In fact, I expect the European nations in general, will rise up against an attempt of this

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kind, and wage a general commercial war against us. They can do well without all our commodities, except tobacco, and we cannot find elsewhere markets for them. The selfishness of England alone will not justify our hazarding a contest of this kind against all Europe. Spain, Portugal, and France, have not yet shut their doors against us; it will be time enough when they do to take up the commercial hatchet. I hope, therefore, those States will repeal their navigation clauses, except as against Great Britain and other nations not treating with us.

I have made the inquiries you desire as to American ship-timber for this country. You know they sent some person (whose name was not told us) to America, to examine the quality of our masts, spars, &c. I think this was young Chaumont's business. They have, besides this, instructed the officer who superintends their supplies of masts, spars, &c., to procure good quantities from our northern States; but I think they have made no contract; on the contrary, that they await the trials projected, but with a determination to look to us for considerable supplies, if they find our timber answer. They have on the carpet a contract for live oak from the southern States.

You ask why the Virginian merchants do not learn to sort their own tobaccos? They can sort them as well as any other merchants whatever. Nothing is better known than the quality of every hogshead of tobacco, from the place of its growth.

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They know, too, the particular qualities required in every market. They do not send their tobaccos, therefore, to London to be sorted, but to pay their debts; and though they could send them to other markets, and remit the money to London, yet they find it necessary to give their English merchant the benefit of the consignment of their tobacco (which is enormously gainful), in order to induce him to continue his indulgence for the balance due.

Is it impossible to persuade our countrymen to make peace with the Nova Scotians? I am persuaded nothing is wanting but advances on our part; and that it is in our power to draw off the greatest proportion of that settlement, and thus to free ourselves from rivals who may become of consequence. We are at present co-operating with Great Britain, whose policy it is to give aliment to that bitter enmity between her States and ours, which may secure her against their ever joining us. But would not the existence of a cordial friendship between us and them, be the best bridle we could possibly put into the mouth of England?

With respect to the Danish business, you will observe that the instructions of Congress, article 3, of October the 29th, 1783, put it entirely into the hands of the *Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, empowered to negotiate a peace, or to any one or more of them.* At that time, I did not come under this description. I had received the permission of

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Congress to decline coming in the spring preceding that date. On the first day of November, 1783, that is to say, two days after the date of the instructions to the commissioners, Congress recommended John Paul Jones to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Versailles as agent, to solicit, under his direction, the payment of all prizes taken in Europe, under his command. But the object under their view, at that time, was assuredly the money due from the court of Versailles, for the prizes taken in the expedition by the Bon Homme Richard, the Alliance, &c. In this business, I have aided him effectually, having obtained a definitive order for paying the money to him, and a considerable proportion being actually paid him. But they could not mean by their resolution of November the 1st, to take from the commissioners powers which they had given them two days before. If there could remain a doubt that this whole power has resulted to you, it would be cleared up by the instructions of May the 7th, 1784, article 9, which declare, "that these instructions be considered as supplementary to those of October the 29th, 1783, and not as revoking, except where they contradict them;" which shows that they considered the instructions of October the 29th, 1783, as still in full force. I do not give you the trouble of this discussion, to save myself the trouble of the negotiation. I should have no objections to this part; but it is to avoid the impropriety of meddling in a matter

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wherein I am unauthorized to act, and where anything I should pretend to conclude with the court of Denmark might have the appearance of a deception on them. Should it be in my power to render any service in it, I shall do it with cheerfulness; but I repeat, that I think you are the only person authorized.

I received, a few days ago, the Nuova minuta of Tuscany, which Colonel Humphreys will deliver you. I have been so engaged, that I have not been able to go over it with any attention. I observe, in general, that the order of the articles is entirely deranged, and their diction almost totally changed. When you shall have examined it, if you will be so good as to send me your observations by post, in cypher, I will communicate with you in the same way, and try to mature this matter.

The deaths of the Dukes of Orleans and Praslin will probably reach you through the channel of the public papers, before this letter does. Your friends the Abbés are well, and always speak of you with affection. Colonel Humphreys comes to pass some time in London. My curiosity would render a short trip thither agreeable to me also, but I see no probability of taking it. I will trouble you with my respects to Dr. Price. Those to Mrs. Adams, I witness in a letter to herself.

I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

PARIS, November 20, 1785.

SIR,—I found here, on my return from Fontainebleau, the letter of October the 30th, which your Excellency did me the honor there, of informing me had been addressed to me at this place; and I shall avail myself of the first occasion of transmitting it to Congress, who will receive, with great pleasure, these new assurances of the friendly sentiments which his Majesty is pleased to continue towards the United States.

I am equally persuaded they will pay the most serious attention to that part of your Excellency's letter, which mentions the information you have received of certain acts or regulations of navigation and commerce, passed in some of the United States, which are injurious to the commerce of France. In the meantime, I wish to remove the unfavorable impressions which those acts seem to have made, as if they were a departure from the reciprocity of conduct, stipulated for by the treaty of February the 6th, 1776. The effect of that treaty is, to place each party with the other always on the footing of the most favored nation. But those, who framed the acts, probably did not consider the treaty as restraining either from discriminating between foreigners and natives. Yet this is the sole effect of these acts. The same opinion as to the meaning of the treaty seems to have been entertained by

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this government, both before and since the date of these acts. For the *Arret* of the King's Council, of August the 30th, 1784, furnished an example of such a discrimination between foreigners and natives, importing salted fish into his Majesty's dominions in the West Indies; by laying a duty on that imported by foreigners, and giving out the same, in bounty, to native importers. This opinion shows itself more remarkably in the late *Arrets* of the 18th and 25th of September, which, increasing to excess the duty on foreign importations of fish into the West Indies, giving the double, in bounty, on those of natives, and thereby rendering it impossible for the former to sell in competition with the latter, have, in effect, prohibited the importation of that article by the citizens of the United States.

Both nations, perhaps, may come into the opinion, that their friendship and their interests may be better cemented, by approaching the condition of their citizens, reciprocally, to that of *natives*, as a better ground of intercourse than that of *the most favored nation*. I shall rest with hopes of being authorized, in due time, to inform your Excellency that nothing will be wanting, on our part, to evince a disposition to concur in revising whatever regulations may, on either side, bear hard on the commerce of the other nation. In the meantime, I have the honor to assure you of the profound respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, November 27, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 5th came to hand yesterday, and Colonel Smith, and Colonel Humphreys (by whom you will receive one of the 19th, from me) being to set out to-morrow, I hasten to answer it. I sincerely rejoice that Portugal is stepping forward in the business of treaty, and that there is a probability that we may at length do something under our commissions, which may produce a solid benefit to our constituents. I as much rejoice, that it is not to be negotiated through the medium of the torpid, uninformed machine, at first made use of. I conjecture, from your relation of the conference with the Chevalier de Pinto, that he is well informed and sensible. So much the better. It is one of those cases, where the better the interest of the two parties are understood, the broader will be the basis on which they will connect them.

To the very judicious observations on the subjects of the conference, which were made by you, I have little to add.

Flour. It may be observed, that we can sell them the flour ready manufactured for much less than the wheat of which it is made. In carrying to them wheat, we carry also the bran, which does not pay its own freight. In attempting to save and transport wheat to them, much is lost by the weavil, and much spoiled by heat in the hold of the vessel. This

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loss must be laid on the wheat which gets safe to market, where it is paid for by the consumer. Now, this is much more than the cost of manufacturing it with us, which would prevent that loss. I suppose the cost of manufacturing does not exceed seven per cent. on the value. But the loss by the weavil, and other damage on shipboard, amount to much more. Let them buy of us as much wheat as will make a hundredweight of flour. They will find that they have paid more for the wheat than we should have asked for the flour, besides having lost the labor of their mills in grinding it. The obliging us, therefore, to carry it to them in the form of wheat, is a useless loss to both parties.

Iron. They will get none from us. We cannot make it in competition with Sweden, or any other nation of Europe, where labor is so much cheaper.

Wines. The strength of the wines of Portugal will give them always an almost exclusive possession of a country, where the summers are so hot as in America. The present demand will be very great, if they will enable us to pay for them; but if they consider the extent and rapid population of the United States, they must see that the time is not distant, when they will not be able to make enough for us, and that it is of great importance to avail themselves of the prejudices already established in favor of their wines, and to continue them by facilitating the purchase. Let them do this, and they need not care for the decline of their use in England. They will be independent of that country.

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Salt. I do not know where the northern States supplied themselves with salt, but the southern ones took great quantities from Portugal.

Cotton and *Wool.* The southern States will take manufactures of both: the northern will take both the manufactures and raw materials.

East India goods of every kind. Philadelphia and New York have begun trade to the East Indies. Perhaps Boston may follow their example. But their importations will be sold only to the country adjacent to them. For a long time to come, the States south of the Delaware will not engage in a direct commerce with the East Indies. They neither have, nor will have ships or seamen for their other commerce: nor will they buy East India goods of the northern States. Experience shows that the States never bought foreign good of one another. The reasons are, that they would, in so doing, pay double freight and charges; and again, that they would have to pay mostly in cash, what they could obtain for commodities in Europe. I know that the American merchants have looked, with some anxiety, to the arrangements to be taken with Portugal, in expectation that they could, through her, get their East India articles on better and more convenient terms; and I am of opinion, Portugal will come in for a good share of this traffic with the southern States, if they facilitate our payments.

Coffee. Can they not furnish us with this article from Brazil?

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Sugar. The Brazil sugars are esteemed, with us, more than any other.

Chocolate. This article, when ready made, as also the cocoa, becomes so soon rancid, and the difficulties of getting in fresh have been so great in America, that its use has spread but little. The way to increase its consumption would be, to permit it to be brought to us immediately from the country of its growth. By getting it good in quality, and cheap in price, the superiority of the article, both for health and nourishment, will soon give it the same preference over tea and coffee in America, which it has in Spain, where they can get it by a single voyage, and, of course, while it is sweet. The use of the sugars, coffee, and cotton of Brazil, would also be much extended by a similar indulgence.

Ginger and spices from the Brazils, if they had the advantage of a direct transportation, might take place of the same articles from the East Indies.

Ginseng. We can furnish them with enough to supply their whole demand for the East Indies.

They should be prepared to expect, that in the beginning of this commerce, more money will be taken by us, than after awhile. The reasons are, that our heavy debt to Great Britain must be paid, before we shall be masters of our own returns; and again, that habits of using particular things are produced only by time and practice.

That as little time as possible may be lost in this negotiation, I will communicate to you, at once, my

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sentiments as to the alterations in the draught sent them, which will probably be proposed by them, or which ought to be proposed by us, noting only those articles.

Article 3. They will probably restrain us to their dominions in Europe. We must expressly include the Azores, Madeiras, and Cape de Verd islands, some of which are deemed to be in Africa. We should also contend for an access to their possessions in America, according to the gradation in the 2d article of our instructions of May the 7th, 1784. But if we can obtain it in no one of these forms, I am of opinion we should give it up.

Article 4. This should be put into the form we gave it, in the draught sent you by Dr. Franklin and myself, for Great Britain. I think we had not reformed this article, when we sent our draught to Portugal. You know the Confederation renders the reformation absolutely necessary; a circumstance which had escaped us at first.

Article 9. Add, from the British draught, the clause about wrecks.

Article 13. The passage "nevertheless," &c., to run as in the British draught.

Article 18. After the word "accident," insert "or wanting supplies of provisions or other refreshments." And again, instead of "take refuge," insert "come," and after "of the other" insert "in any part of the world." The object of this is to obtain leave for our whaling vessels to refit and refresh on

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the coast of the Brazils; an object of immense importance to that class of our vessels. We must acquiesce under such modifications as they may think necessary, for regulating this indulgence, in hopes to lessen them in time, and to get a *pied à terre* in that country.

Article 19. Can we get this extended to the Brazils? It would be precious in case of a war with Spain.

Article 23. Between "places" and "whose," insert "and in general, all others," as in the British draught.

Article 24. For "necessaries," substitute "comforts."

Article 25. Add "but if any such consuls shall exercise commerce," &c., as in the British draught.

We should give to Congress as early notice as possible of the re-institution of this negotiation; because, in a letter by a gentleman who sailed from Havre, the 10th instant, I communicated to them the answer of the Portuguese minister, through the ambassador here, which I sent to you. They may, in consequence, be making other arrangements which might do injury. The little time which now remains, of the continuance of our commissions, should also be used with the Chevalier de Pinto, to hasten the movements of his court.

But all these preparations for trade with Portugal will fail in their effect, unless the depredations of the Algerines can be prevented. I am far from confiding in the measures taken for this purpose. Very

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possibly war must be recurred to. Portugal is at war with them. Suppose the Chevalier de Pinto was to be sounded on the subject of an union of force, and even a stipulation for contributing, each, a certain force, to be kept in constant cruise. Such a league once begun, other nations would drop into it, one by one. If he should seem to approve it, it might then be suggested to Congress, who, if they should be forced to try the measure of war, would doubtless be glad of such an ally. As the Portuguese negotiation should be hastened, I suppose our communications must often be trusted to the post, availing ourselves of the cover of our cypher.

I am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO COLONEL HUMPHREYS.

PARIS, December 4, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a letter from Gatteaux, observing that there will be an anachronism, if, in making a medal to commemorate the victory of Saratoga, he puts on General Gates the insignia of the Cincinnati, which did not exist at that date. I wrote him, in answer, that I thought so, too, but that you had the direction of the business; that you were now in London; that I would write to you, and probably should have an answer within a fortnight; and, that in the meantime, he could be employed on other parts of the die. I supposed

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you might not have observed, on the print of General Gates, the insignia of the Cincinnati, or did not mean that that particular should be copied. Another reason against it strikes me. Congress have studiously avoided giving to the public their sense of this institution. Should medals be prepared, to be presented from them to certain officers, and bearing on them the insignia of the order, as the presenting them would involve an approbation of the institution, a previous question would be forced on them, whether they would present these medals? I am of opinion it would be very disagreeable to them to be placed under the necessity of making this declaration. Be so good as to let me know your wishes on this subject, by the first post.

Mr. Short has been sick ever since you left us. Nothing new has occurred here, since your departure. I imagine you have American news. If so, pray give us some. Present me affectionately to Mr. Adams and the ladies, and to Colonel Smith; and be assured of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, December 10, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—On the arrival of Mr. Boylston, I carried him to the Marquis de La Fayette, who received from him communications of his object. This was to get a remission of the duties on his cargo

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of oil, and he was willing to propose a future contract. I suggested, however, to the Marquis, when we were alone, that instead of wasting our efforts on individual applications, we had better take up the subject on general ground, and whatever could be obtained, let it be common to all. He concurred with me. As the jealousy of office between ministers does not permit me to apply immediately to the one in whose department this was, the Marquis's agency was used. The result was, to put us on the footing of the Hanseatic towns, as to whale oil, and to reduce the duties to eleven livres and five sols for five hundred and twenty pounds, French, which is very nearly two livres on the English hundred weight, or about a guinea and a half the ton. But the oil must be brought in American or French ships, and the indulgence is limited to one year. However, as to this, I expressed to Count de Vergennes my hopes that it would be continued; and should a doubt arise, I should propose, at the proper time, to claim it under the treaty, on the footing *gentis amicissimæ*. After all, I believe Mr. Boylston has failed of selling to Sangrain, and, from what I learn, through a little too much hastiness of temper. Perhaps they may yet come together, or he may sell to somebody else.

When the general matter was thus arranged, a Mr. Barrett arrived here from Boston, with letters of recommendation from Governor Bowdoin, Cushing, and others. His errand was, to get the whale

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business here put on a general bottom, instead of the particular one, which had been settled, you know, the last year, for a special company. We told him what was done. He thinks it will answer, and proposes to settle at L'Orient, for conducting the sales of the oil, and the returns. I hope, therefore, that this matter is tolerably well fixed, as far as the consumption of this country goes. I know not, as yet, to what amount that is; but shall endeavor to find out how much they consume, and how much they furnish themselves. I propose to Mr. Barrett, that he should induce either his State or individuals to send a sufficient number of boxes of the spermaceti candle, to give one to every leading house in Paris; I mean to those who lead the ton; and, at the same time, to deposit a quantity for sale here, and advertise them in the *petites affiches*. I have written to Mr. Carmichael, to know on what footing the use and introduction of the whale oil is there, or can be placed.

I have the honor to be, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

PARIS, December 22, 1785.

SIR,—The death of the late General Oglethorpe, who had considerable possessions in Georgia, has given rise, as we understand, to questions whether those possessions have become the property of the

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State, or have been transferred by his will to his widow, or descended on the nearest heir capable in law of taking them. In the latter case, the Chevalier de Mezieres, a subject of France, stands foremost, as being made capable of the inheritance by the treaty between this country and the United States. Under the regal government, it was the practice with us, when lands passed to the crown by escheat or forfeiture, to grant them to such relation of the party, as stood on the fairest ground. This was even a chartered right in some of the States. The practice has been continued among them, as deeming that the late Revolution should, in no instance, abridge the rights of the people. Should this have been the practice in the State of Georgia, or should they, in any instance, think proper to admit it, I am persuaded none will arise, in which it would be more expedient to do it, than in the present, and that no person's expectations should be fairer than those of the Chevalier de Mezieres. He is the nephew of General Oglethorpe, he is of singular personal merit, an officer of rank, of high connections, and patronized by the ministers. His case has drawn their attention, and seems to be considered as protected by the treaty of alliance, and as presenting a trial of our regard to that. Should these lands be considered as having passed to the State, I take the liberty of recommending him to the legislature of Georgia, as worthy of their generosity, and as presenting an opportunity of proving the favorable dis-

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positions which exist throughout America, towards the subjects of this country, and an opportunity too, which will probably be known and noted here.

In the several views, therefore, of personal merit, justice, generosity and policy, I presume to recommend the Chevalier de Mezieres, and his interests, to the notice and patronage of your Excellency, whom the choice of your country has sufficiently marked, as possessing the dispositions, while it has, at the same time, given you the power, to befriend just claims. The Chevalier de Mezieres will pass over to Georgia in the ensuing spring; but, should he find an opportunity, he will probably forward this letter sooner. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most profound respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE GEORGIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

PARIS, December 22, 1785.

GENTLEMEN,—By my despatch to Mr. Jay, which accompanies this, you will perceive that the claims of the Chevalier de Mezieres, nephew to the late General Oglethorpe, to his possessions within your State, have attracted the attention of the ministry here; and that, considering them as protected by their treaty with us, they have viewed as derogatory of that, the doubts which have been expressed on the subject. I have thought it best to present to them those claims in the least favorable point of

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view, to lessen, as much as possible, the ill effects of a disappointment; but I think it my duty to ask your notice and patronage of this case as one whose decision will have an effect on the general interests of the Union.

The Chevalier de Mezieres is nephew to General Oglethorpe; he is a person of great estimation, powerfully related and protected. His interests are espoused by those whom it is our interest to gratify. I will take the liberty, therefore, of soliciting your recommendations of him to the generosity of your legislature, and to the patronage and good offices of your friends, whose efforts, though in a private case, will do a public good. The pecuniary advantages of confiscation, in this instance, cannot compensate its ill effects. It is difficult to make foreigners understand those legal distinctions between the effects of forfeiture, of escheat, and of conveyance, on which the professors of the law might build their opinions in this case. They can see only the outlines of the case; to wit, the death of a possessor of lands lying within the United States, leaving an heir in France, and the State claiming those lands in opposition to the heir. An individual, thinking himself injured, makes more noise than a State. Perhaps, too, in every case which either party to a treaty thinks to be within its provisions, it is better not to weigh the syllables and letters of the treaty, but to show that gratitude and affection render that appeal unnecessary. I take the freedom, therefore,

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of submitting to your wisdom, the motives which present themselves in favor of a grant to the Chevalier de Mezieres, and the expediency of urging them on your State, as far as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, December 27, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of the 13th and 20th, were put in my hands to-day. This will be delivered you by Mr. Dalrymple, secretary to the legation of Mr. Crawford. I do not know whether you were acquainted with him here. He is a young man of learning and candor, and exhibits a phenomenon I never before met with, that is, a republican born on the north side of the Tweed.

You have been consulted in the case of the Chevalier de Mezieres, nephew to General Oglethorpe, and are understood to have given an opinion derogatory of our treaty with France. I was also consulted, and understood in the same way. I was of opinion the Chevalier had no right to the estate, and as he had determined the treaty gave him a right, I suppose he made the inference for me, that the treaty was of no weight. The Count de Vergennes mentioned it to me in such a manner, that I found it was necessary to explain the case to him, and show him

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the treaty had nothing to do with it. I enclose you a copy of the explanation I delivered him.

Mr. Boylston sold his cargo to an agent of Monsieur Sangrain. He got for it fifty-five livres the hundred weight. I do not think that his being joined to a company here would contribute to its success. His capital is not wanting. Le Conteux has agreed that the merchants of Boston, sending whale oil here, may draw on him for a certain proportion of money, only giving such a time in their drafts, as will admit the actual arrival of the oil into a port of France, for his security. Upon these drafts, Mr. Barrett is satisfied they will be able to raise money, to make their purchases in America. The duty is seven livres and ten sols on the barrel of five hundred and twenty pounds, French, and ten sous on every livre, which raises it to eleven livres and five sols, the sum I mentioned to you. France uses between five and six millions of pounds' weight French, which is between three and four thousand tons, English. Their own fisheries do not furnish one million, and there is no probability of their improving. Sangrain purchases himself upwards of a million. He tells me our oil is better than the Dutch or English, because we make it fresh, whereas they cut up the whale, and bring it home to be made, so that it is, by that time, entered into fermentation. Mr. Barrett says, that fifty livres the hundred weight will pay the prime cost and duties, and leave a profit of sixteen per cent. to the merchant. I hope that

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England will, within a year or two, be obliged to come here to buy whale oil for her lamps.

I like as little as you do to have the gift of appointments. I hope Congress will not transfer the appointment of their consuls to their ministers. But if they do, Portugal is more naturally under the superintendence of the minister at Madrid, and still more naturally under that of the minister at Lisbon, where it is clear they ought to have one. If all my hopes fail, the letters of Governor Bowdoin and Cushing, in favor of young Mr. Warren, and your more detailed testimony in his behalf, are not likely to be opposed by evidence of equal weight, in favor of any other. I think with you, too, that it is for the public interest to encourage sacrifices and services, by rewarding them, and that they should weigh to a certain point, in the decision between candidates.

I am sorry for the illness of the Chevalier Pinto. I think that treaty important; and the moment to urge it is that of a treaty between France and England.

Lambe, who left this place the 6th of November, was at Madrid the 10th of this month. Since his departure, Mr. Barclay has discovered that no copies of the full powers were furnished to himself, nor of course to Lambe. Colonel Franks has prepared copies, which I will endeavor to get, to send by this conveyance for your attestation; which you will be so good as to send back by the first safe convey-

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ance, and I will forward them. Mr. Barclay and Colonel Franks being at this moment at St. Germain's, I am not sure of getting the papers in time to go by Mr. Dalrymple. In that case, I will send them by Mr. Bingham.

Be so good as to present me affectionately to Mrs. and Miss Adams, to Colonels Smith and Humphreys, and accept assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO F. HOPKINSON.

PARIS, January 3, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last, on the 25th of September. Since that, I have received yours of October the 25th, enclosing a duplicate of the last invented tongue for the harpsichord. The letter enclosing another of them, and accompanied by newspapers, which you mention in that of October the 25th, has never come to hand. I will embrace the first opportunity of sending you the crayons. Perhaps they may come with this, which I think to deliver to Mr. Bingham, who leaves us on Saturday, for London. If, on consulting him, I find the conveyance from London uncertain, you shall receive them by a Mr. Barrett, who goes from hence for New York, next month. You have not authorized me to try to avail you of the new tongue. Indeed, the ill success of my endeavors with the last does not promise much with this. However, I shall try.

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Houdon only stopped a moment, to deliver me your letter, so that I have not yet had an opportunity of asking his opinion of the improvement. I am glad you are pleased with his work. He is among the foremost, or, perhaps, the foremost artist in the world.

Turning to your "Encyclopédie," *Arts et Metiers*, tome 3, part 1, page 393, you will find mentioned an instrument, invented by a Monsieur Renaudin, for determining the true time of the musical movements, largo, adagio, &c. I went to see it. He showed me his first invention; the price of the machine was twenty-five guineas; then his second, which he had been able to make for about half that sum. Both of these had a mainspring and a balance wheel, for their mover and regulator. The strokes were made by a small hammer. He then showed me his last, which is moved by a weight and regulated by a pendulum, and which cost only two guineas and a half. It presents, in front, a dial-plate like that of a clock, on which are arranged, in a circle, the words largo, adagio, andante, allegro, presto. The circle is moreover divided into fifty-two equal degrees. Largo is at 1, adagio at 11, andante at 22, allegro at 36, and presto at 46. Turning the index to any of these, the pendulum (which is a string, with a ball hanging to it) shortens or lengthens, so that one of its vibrations gives you a crotchet for that movement. This instrument has been examined by the Academy of Music here, who

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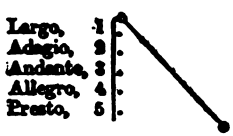
are so well satisfied of its utility, that they have ordered all music which shall be printed here, in future, to have the movements numbered in correspondence with this plexi-chronometer. I need not tell you that the numbers between two movements, as between 22 and 36, give the quicker or slower degrees of the movements, such as the quick andante, or moderate allegro. The instrument is useful, but still it may be greatly simplified. I got him to make me one, and having fixed a pendulum vibrating seconds, I tried by that the vibrations of his pendulum, according to the several movements.

I find the pendulum regulated to Largo	vibrates	52	times in a minute.
Adagio		60	
Andante		70	
Allegro		95	
Presto		135	

Every one, therefore, may make a chronometer adapted to his instrument.

For a harpsichord, the following occurs to me.



In the wall of your chamber, over the instrument, drive five little brads, as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, in the following manner. Take a string with a bob to it, of such length, as that hung on No. 1, it shall vibrate fifty-two times in a minute. Then proceed by trial to drive No. 2, at such a distance, that drawing the loop of the string to that, the part remaining between 1 and the bob, shall vibrate sixty times in a minute. Fix the third for seventy vibra-

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tions, &c.; the cord always hanging over No. 1, as the centre of vibration. A person, playing on the violin, may fix this on his music stand. A pendulum thrown into vibration, will continue in motion long enough to give you the time of your piece. I have been thus particular, on the supposition that you would fix one of these simple things for yourself.

You have heard often of the metal, called platina, to be found only in South America. It is insusceptible of rust, as gold and silver are, none of the acids affecting it, excepting the aqua regia. It also admits of as perfect a polish as the metal hitherto used for the specula of telescopes. These two properties had suggested to the Spaniards the substitution of it for that use. But the mines being closed up by the government, it is difficult to get the metal. The experiment has been lately tried here by the Abbé Rochon, (whom I formerly mentioned to Mr. Rittenhouse, as having discovered that lenses of certain natural crystals have two different and uncombined magnifying powers) and he thinks the polish as high as that of the metal heretofore used, and that it will never be injured by the air, a touch of the finger, &c. I examined it in a dull day, which did not admit a fair judgment of the strength of its reflection.

Good qualities are sometimes misfortunes. I will prove it from your own experience. You are punctual; and almost the only one of my correspondents on whom I can firmly rely for the execution of com-

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missions which combine a little trouble with more attention. I am very sorry, however, that I have three commissions to charge you with, which will give you more than a little trouble. Two of them are for Monsieur de Buffon. Many, many years ago, Cadwallader Colden wrote a very small pamphlet on the subjects of attraction and impulsion, a copy of which he sent to Monsieur de Buffon. He was so charmed with it, that he put it into the hands of a friend to translate, who lost it. It has ever since weighed on his mind, and he has made repeated trials to have it found in England. But in vain. He applied to me. I am in hopes, if you will write a line to the booksellers of Philadelphia to rummage their shops, that some of them may find it. Or, perhaps, some of the careful old people of Pennsylvania or New Jersey may have preserved a copy. In the King's cabinet of Natural history, of which Monsieur de Buffon has the superintendence, I observed that they had neither our grouse nor our pheasant. These, I know, may be bought in the market of Philadelphia, on any day while they are in season. Pray buy the male and female of each, and employ some apothecary's boy to prepare them, and pack them. Methods may be seen in the preliminary discourse to the first volume of Birds, in the Encyclopédie, or in the Natural history of Buffon, where he describes the King's cabinet. And this done, you will be so good as to send them to me. The third commission is more distant. It is to pro-

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cure me two or three hundred paccan-nuts from the western country. I expect they can always be got at Pittsburg, and am in hopes, that by yourself or your friends, some attentive person there may be engaged to send them to you. They should come as fresh as possible, and come best, I believe, in a box of sand. Of this Barham could best advise you. I imagine vessels are always coming from Philadelphia to France. If there be a choice of ports, Havre would be best. I must beg you to direct them to the care of the American consul or agent at the port, to be sent by the Diligence or Fourgon. A thousand apologies would not suffice for this trouble, if I meant to pay you in apologies only. But I sincerely ask, and will punctually execute, the appointment of your Chargé des Affaires in Europe generally. From the smallest to the highest commission, I will execute with zeal and punctuality, in buying, or doing anything you wish, on this side the water. And you may judge from the preceding specimen, that I shall not be behind hand in the trouble I shall impose on you. Make a note of all the expenses attending my commissions, and favor me with it every now and then, and I will replace them. My daughter is well, and retains an affectionate remembrance of her ancient patroness, your mother, as well as your lady and family. She joins me in wishing to them, and to Mr. and Mrs. Rittenhouse and family, every happiness. Accept, yourself, assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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P. S. What is become of the Lunarium for the King?

TO A. CARY.

PARIS, January 7, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—The very few of my countrymen, who happen to be punctual, will find their punctuality a misfortune to them. Of this, I shall give you a proof by the present application, which I should not make to you if I did not know you to be superior to the torpidity of our climate. In my conversations with the Count de Buffon on the subjects of natural history, I find him absolutely unacquainted with our elk and our deer. He has hitherto believed that our deer never had horns more than a foot long; and has, therefore, classed them with the roe buck, which I am sure you know them to be different from. I have examined some of the red deer of this country at the distance of about sixty yards, and I find no other difference between them and ours than a shade or two in the color. Will you take the trouble to procure for me the largest pair of buck's horns you can, and a large skin of each color, that is to say, a red and a blue? If it were possible to take these from a buck just killed, to leave all the bones of the head in the skin, with the horns on, to leave the bones of the legs in the skin also, and the hoofs to it, so that, having only made an incision all along the belly and neck, to take the animal out at, we could, by sewing up

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that incision, and stuffing the skin, present the true size and form of the animal, it would be a most precious present. Our deer have been often sent to England and Scotland. Do you know (with certainty) whether they have ever bred with the red deer of those countries? With respect to the elk, I despair of your being able to get for me anything but the horns of it. David Ross, I know, has a pair; perhaps he would give them to us. It is useless to ask for the skin and skeleton, because I think it not in your power to get them, otherwise, they would be most desirable. A gentleman, fellow passenger with me from Boston to England, promised to send to you, in my name, some hares, rabbits, pheasants, and partridges, by the return of the ship, which was to go to Virginia, and the captain promised to take great care of them. My friend procured the animals, and the ship changing her destination, he kept them in hopes of finding some other conveyance, till they all perished. I do not despair, however, of finding some opportunity still of sending a colony of useful animals. I am making a collection of vines for wine and for the table; also of some trees, such as the cork oak, &c., &c.

Everything is absolutely quiet in Europe. There is not, therefore, a word of news to communicate. I pray you to present me affectionately to your family, and that of Tuckahoe. Whatever expense is necessary for procuring me the articles above-mentioned, I will instantly replace, either in cash or in anything you may wish from hence.

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I am, with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MAJOR GENERAL GREENE.

PARIS, January 12, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of June the 1st did not come to hand till the 3d of September. I immediately made inquiries on the subject of the frigate you had authorized your relation to sell to this government, and I found that he had long before that sold her to government, and sold her very well, as I understood. I noted the price on the back of your letter, which I have since unfortunately mislaid, so that I cannot at this moment state to you the price. But the transaction is of so long a standing that you cannot fail to have received advice of it. I should without delay have given you this information, but that I hoped to be able to accompany it with information as to the live oak, which was another object of your letter. This matter, though it has been constantly pressed by Mr. St. John, and also by the Marquis de La Fayette since his return from Berlin, has been spun to a great length, and at last they have only decided to send to you for samples of the wood. Letters on this subject from the Marquis de La Fayette accompany this.

Everything in Europe is quiet, and promises quiet for at least a year to come. We do not find it easy to make commercial arrangements in Europe. There

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is a want of confidence in us. This country has lately reduced the duties on American whale oil to about a guinea and a half the ton, and I think they will take the greatest part of what we can furnish. I hope, therefore, that this branch of our commerce will resume its activity. Portugal shows a disposition to court our trade, but this has for some time been discouraged by the hostilities of the piratical States of Barbary. The Emperor of Morocco, who had taken one of our vessels, immediately consented to suspend hostilities, and ultimately gave up the vessel, cargo and crew. I think we shall be able to settle matters with him. But I am not sanguine as to the Algerines. They have taken two of our vessels, and I fear will ask such a tribute for a forbearance of their piracies as the United States would be unwilling to pay. When this idea comes across my mind, my faculties are absolutely suspended between indignation and impatience. I think, whatever sums we are obliged to pay for freedom of navigation in the European seas, should be levied on the European commerce with us by a separate impost, that these powers may see that they protect these enormities for their own loss.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO MR. ADAMS.

PARIS, January 12, 1786.

SIR,—You were here the last year when the interest due to the French officers was paid to them, and were sensible of the good effect it had on the credit and honor of the United States. A second year's interest is become due. They have presented their demands. There is not money here to pay them; the pittance, remaining in Mr. Grand's hands, being only sufficient to pay current expenses three months longer. The dissatisfaction of these officers is extreme, and their complaints will produce the worst effect. The Treasury Board has not ordered their payment, probably because they knew there would not be money. The amount of their demand is about forty-two thousand livres, and Mr. Grand has in his hands but twelve thousand. I have thought it my duty, under this emergency, to ask you whether you could order that sum for their relief from the funds in Holland? If you can, I am persuaded it will have the best of effects.

The Imperial Ambassador took me apart the other day at Count d'Aranda's, and observed to me that Dr. Franklin, about eighteen or twenty months ago, had written to him a letter proposing a treaty of commerce between the Emperor and the United States; that he had communicated it to the Emperor, and had answered to Dr. Franklin that they were ready to enter into arrangements for that purpose,

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but that he had since that received no reply from us. I told him I knew well that Dr. Franklin had written as he mentioned, but that this was the first mention I had ever heard made of any answer to the letter. That, on the contrary, we had always supposed it was unanswered, and had therefore expected the next step from him. He expressed his wonder at this, and said he would have the copy of his answer sought for and send it to me. However, he observed that this matter being now understood between us, the two countries might proceed to make the arrangements. I told him the delay had been the more unlucky, as our powers were now near expiring. He said he supposed Congress could have no objections to renew them, or perhaps to send some person to Brussels to negotiate the matter there. We remitted all further discussion till he should send me a copy of his letter. He has not yet done it, and I doubt whether he has not forgotten the substance of his letter which probably was no more than an acknowledgment of the receipt of Dr. Franklin's, and a promise to transmit it to his court. If he had written one proposing conferences, it could never have got safe to Dr. Franklin. Be this as it will, he now makes advances, and I pray you to write me your sentiments immediately as to what is best to be done on our part. I will endeavor to evade an answer till I can hear from you. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

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dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, January 12, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I had just closed the preceding letter when M. de Blumendorff, the Imperial Secretary of Legation, called on me with the answer of Dr. Franklin. It was that of September 28, 1784, which you remember as well as myself, wherein Count Merci informed us the Emperor was disposed to enter into commercial arrangements with us, and that he would give orders to the government of the Austrian Netherlands to take the necessary measures. I observed to M. de Blumendorff that this answer showed the next step was to come from them. He acknowledged it, but said these orders having been for the Netherlands only, they had waited in expectation of others for comprehending Hungary, Bohemia, and the Austrian dominions in general, and that they still expected such instructions. I told him, while they should be expecting them, I would write to you on the subject, as it was necessary for us to act jointly in this business. I think they are desirous of treating, and will urge it. I shall be anxious, therefore, to receive your sentiments on the subject; and renew the assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

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TO MARQUIS DE LA ROUERIE.

PARIS, January 12, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with your letter of the 26th of December, on the subject of the interest due to the foreign officers. An express instruction of Congress having subjected their moneys in Europe to the order of their Board of Treasury only, leaves me without the power of giving the order you desire. However, wishing to do whatever was possible for those officers, I went to Mr. Grand's to consult him on the subject. He informed me he had received no orders to make the payment, and, moreover, that there was no money, had he received an order. I have therefore written to Mr. Adams at London, to know whether there is any money in Holland subject to his order, from which this sum could be supplied. But, in truth, I have no expectations from that quarter, and only tried it because there was a possibility of aid from thence. I wrote, however, to Congress, praying their immediate and effectual interposition. From this, I hope better effects. But it will be three months at least before their order can be received. So soon as they shall be known to me, I shall certainly make it my duty to communicate them to you. And have the honor to be, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

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TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

PARIS, January 24, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with your Excellency's two letters of September 10th and that of October 14th, 1785. The former were brought me by Mr. Houdon, who is returned with the necessary moulds and measures for General Washington's statue. I fear the expenses of his journey have been considerably increased by the unlucky accident of his tools, materials, clothes, &c., not arriving at Havre in time to go with him to America, so that he had to supply himself there. The money which you were so kind as to send by Captain Littlepage for the purpose of this statue, he found himself obliged to deposit in New York, to satisfy a demand made on him there. This was a debt which he owed to Mr. Jay. He assures me that in a settlement with his guardian, the latter took credit for this debt, so as to be answerable to Mr. Jay for it, and of course to the State, now that Mr. Jay is paid with the State's money. I mention this circumstance that your Excellency may be enabled to take the earliest measures for recovering this money, and indemnifying the State. Mr. Littlepage, to satisfy me, had obtained from the Marquis de La Fayette his engagement to stand bound as Mr. Littlepage's security for the payment of this money. But knowing the punctuality and responsibility of his guardian, I did not suppose a security necessary.

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Besides, if a loss was to be incurred, I know too well the sentiments of the State of Virginia towards the Marquis de La Fayette to suppose they would be willing to throw the loss on him. I therefore acted as I thought your Excellency and the Council would have directed me to act, could you have been consulted. I waited on the Marquis, and in his presence cancelled his name from the obligation which had been given me, leaving only that of Mr. Littlepage. I have now the honor to enclose you one of those instruments, duplicates of which had been given me by Littlepage. The first of the Marquis's Busts will be finished next month. I shall present that one to the city of Paris, because the delay has been noticed by some. I hope to be able to send another to Virginia in the course of the summer. These are to cost three thousand livres each. The agreement for the arms has been at length concluded by Mr. Barclay. He was so much better acquainted with this business than the Marquis Fayette or myself, that we left it altogether to him. We were sensible that they might have been gotten cheaper, but not so good. However, I suppose he has given you the details of his proceedings, so as to render them unnecessary from me. It will be eight months before they will be ready. The cause of this, too, Mr. Barclay told me he would explain to you. It is principally to insure their goodness. The bills remitted to pay for them have been honored, and the money is lodged in Mr.

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Grand's hands, who was willing to allow a small interest for it.

An improvement is made here in the construction of the musket, which may be worthy of attention. It consists in making every part of them so exactly alike, that every part of any one may be used for the same part of any other musket made by the same hand. The government here has examined and approved the method, and is establishing a large manufactory for the purpose. As yet the inventor has only completed the lock of the musket on this plan. He will proceed immediately to have the barrel, stock and their parts executed in the same way. I visited the workman. He presented the parts of fifty locks, taken to pieces and arranged in compartments. I put several together myself, taking the pieces at hazard as they came to hand, and found them fit interchangeably in the most perfect manner. The tools by which he effects this have, at the same time, so abridged the labor, that he thinks he shall be able to furnish the musket two livres cheaper than the King's price. But it will be two or three years years before he will be able to furnish any quantity. I have duly received the propositions of Messrs. Ross, Pleasants, &c., for furnishing tobacco to the Farmers General; but Mr. Morris had, in the meantime, obtained the contract. I have been fully sensible of the baneful influence on the commerce of France and America, which this double monopoly will have. I have

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struck at its root here, and spared no pains to have the form itself demolished, but it has been in vain. The persons interested in it are too powerful to be opposed, even by the interest of the whole country. I mention this matter in confidence, as a knowledge of it might injure any further endeavors to attain the same object.

Everything is quiet here, and will certainly remain so another year. Mr. Barclay left Paris a few days ago, and will be absent from France for some time. I shall spare no endeavors to fulfil the several objects with which he was charged, in the best manner I can.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. RITTENHOUSE.

PARIS, January 25, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of September 28th, came to hand a few days ago. I thank you for the details on the subject of the southern and western lines. There remains thereon, one article, however, which I will still beg you to inform me of, viz., how far is the western boundary beyond the meridian of Pittsburg? This information is necessary to enable me to trace that boundary in my map. I shall be much gratified, also, with a communication of your observations on the curiosities of the western

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country. It will not be difficult to induce me to give up the theory of the growth of shells, without their being the nidus of animals. It is only an idea, and not an opinion with me. In the Notes with which I troubled you, I had observed that there were three opinions as to the origin of these shells. 1. That they have been deposited, even in the highest mountains, by an universal deluge. 2. That they, with all the calcareous stones and earths, are animal remains. 3. That they grow or shoot as crystals do. I find that I could swallow the last opinion, sooner than either of the others; but I have not yet swallowed it. Another opinion might have been added, that some throe of nature has forced up parts which had been the bed of the ocean. But have we any better proof of such an effort of nature, than of her shooting a lapidific juice into the form of a shell? No such convulsion has taken place in our time, nor within the annals of history; nor is the distance greater between the shooting of the lapidific juice into the form of a crystal or a diamond, which we see, and into the form of a shell, which we do not see, than between the forcing volcanic matter a little above the surface, where it is in fusion, which we see, and the forcing the bed of the sea fifteen thousand feet above the ordinary surface of the earth, which we do not see. It is not possible to believe any of these hypotheses; and, if we lean towards any of them, it should be only till some other is produced, more analogous to the known

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operations of nature. In a letter to Mr. Hopkinson, I mentioned to him that the Abbé Rochon, who discovered the double refracting power in some of the natural crystals, had lately made a telescope with the metal called platina, which, while it is as susceptible of as perfect a polish as the metal heretofore used for the specula of telescopes, is insusceptible of rust, as gold and silver are. There is a person here, who has hit on a new method of engraving. He gives you an ink of his composition. Write on copper plates anything of which you would wish to take several copies, and, in an hour, the plate will be ready to strike them off; so of plans, engravings, &c. This art will be amusing to individuals, if he should make it known. I send you herewith the nautical almanacs for 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, which are as late as they are published. You ask, how you may reimburse the expense of these trifles? I answer, by accepting them; as the procuring you a gratification, is a higher one to me than money. We have had nothing curious published lately. I do not know whether you are fond of chemical reading. There are some things in this science worth reading. I will send them to you, if you wish it. My daughter is well, and joins me in respects to Mrs. Rittenhouse and the young ladies. After asking when we are to have the Lunarium, I will close with assurances of the sincere regard and esteem, with which I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

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TO A. STUART, ESQ.

PARIS, January 25, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favor of the 17th of October, which, though you have mentioned it as the third you have written me, is the first that has come to hand. I sincerely thank you for the communication it contains. Nothing is so grateful to me, at this distance, as details, both great and small, of what is passing in my own country. Of the latter, we receive little here, because they either escape my correspondents, or are thought unworthy of notice. This, however, is a very mistaken opinion, as every one may observe, by recollecting, that when he has been long absent from his neighborhood, the small news of that is the most pleasing, and occupies his first attention, either when he meets with a person from thence, or returns thither himself. I still hope, therefore, that the letter, in which you have been so good as to give me the minute occurrences in the neighborhood of Monticello, may yet come to hand, and I venture to rely on the many proofs of friendship I have received from you, for a continuance of your favors. This will be the more meritorious, as I have nothing to give you in exchange.

The quiet of Europe, at this moment, furnishes little which can attract your notice. Nor will that quiet be soon disturbed, at least for the current year. Perhaps it hangs on the life of the King of Prussia, and that hangs by a very slender thread. American

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reputation in Europe is not such as to be flattering to its citizens. Two circumstances are particularly objected to us: the non-payment of our debts, and the want of energy in our government. These discourage a connection with us. I own it to be my opinion, that good will arise from the destruction of our credit. I see nothing else which can restrain our disposition to luxury, and to the change of those manners which alone can preserve republican government. As it is impossible to prevent credit, the best way would be to cure its ill effects, by giving an instantaneous recovery to the creditor. This would be reducing purchases on credit to purchases for ready money. A man would then see a prison painted on everything he wished, but had not ready money to pay for.

I fear from an expression in your letter, that the people of Kentucky think of separating, not only from Virginia (in which they are right), but also from the confederacy. I own, I should think this a most calamitous event, and such a one as every good citizen should set himself against. Our present federal limits are not too large for good government, nor will the increase of votes in Congress produce any ill effect. On the contrary, it will drown the little divisions at present existing there. Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest, from which all America, North and South, is to be peopled. We should take care, too, not to think it for the interest of that great Continent to press

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too soon on the Spaniards. Those countries cannot be in better hands. My fear is, that they are too feeble to hold them till our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it from them, piece by piece. The navigation of the Mississippi we must have. This is all we are, as yet, ready to receive. I have made acquaintance with a very sensible, candid gentleman here, who was in South America during the revolt which took place there, while our Revolution was going on. He says, that those disturbances (of which we scarcely heard anything) cost, on both sides, an hundred thousand lives.

I have made a particular acquaintance here, with Monsieur de Buffon, and have a great desire to give him the best idea I can of our elk. Perhaps your situation may enable you to aid me in this. You could not oblige me more than by sending me the horns, skeleton, and skin of an elk, were it possible to procure them. The most desirable form of receiving them would be, to have the skin slit from the under jaw along the belly to the tail, and down the thighs to the knee, to take the animal out, leaving the legs and hoofs, the bones of the head, and the horns attached to the skin. By sewing up the belly, &c., and stuffing the skin, it would present the form of the animal. However, as an opportunity of doing this is scarcely to be expected, I shall be glad to receive them detached, packed in a box, and sent to Richmond, to the care of Dr. Currie. Everything of this kind is precious here. And to

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prevent my adding to your trouble, I must close my letter, with assurances of the esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

PARIS, January 26, 1786.

GENTLEMEN,—I have been duly honored by the receipt of your letter of December the 6th, and am to thank you for the communications it contained on the state of our funds and expectations here. Your idea, that these communications, occasionally, may be useful to the United States, is certainly just, as I am frequently obliged to explain our prospects of paying interest, &c., which I should better do with fuller information. If you would be so good as to instruct Mr. Grand always to furnish me with a duplicate of those cash accounts which he furnishes to you, from time to time, and if you would be so good as to direct your secretary to send me copies of such letters as you transmit to Mr. Grand, advising him of the remittances he may expect, from time to time, I should, thereby, be always informed of the sum of money on hand here, and the probable expectations of supply. Dr. Franklin, during his residence here, having been authorized to borrow large sums of money, the disposal of that money seemed naturally to rest with him. It was Mr. Grand's practice, therefore, never to pay money,

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but on his warrant. On his departure, Mr. Grand sent all money drafts to me, to authorize their payment. I informed him, that this was in no wise within my province, that I was unqualified to direct him in it, and, that were I to presume to meddle, it would be no additional sanction to him. He refused, however, to pay a shilling without my order. I have been obliged, therefore, to a nugatory interference, merely to prevent the affairs of the United States from standing still. I need not represent to you the impropriety of my continuing to direct Mr. Grand longer than till we can receive your orders, the mischief which might ensue from the uncertainty in which this would place you as to the extent to which you might venture to draw on your funds here, and the little necessity there is for my interference. Whenever you order a sum of money into Mr. Grand's hands, nothing will be more natural than your instructing him how to apply it, so as that he shall observe your instructions alone. Among these, you would doubtless judge it necessary to give him one standing instruction, to answer my drafts for such sums as my office authorizes me to call for. These would be salary, couriers, postage, and such other articles as circumstances will require, which cannot be previously defined. These will never be so considerable as to endanger the honor of your drafts; I shall certainly exercise in them the greatest caution, and stand responsible to Congress.

Mr. Grand conceives that he has suffered in your

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opinion by an application of two hundred thousand livres, during the last year, differently from what the office of finance had instructed him. This was a consequence of his being thought subject to direction here, and it is but justice to relieve him from blame on that account, and to show that it ought to fall, if anywhere, on Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and myself. The case was thus: The moneys here were exhausted, Mr. Grand was in advance about fifty thousand livres, and the diplomatic establishments in France, Spain, and Holland, subsisting on his bounties, which they were subject to see stopped every moment, and feared a protest on every bill. Other current expenses, too, were depending on advances from him, and though these were small in their amount, they sometimes involved great consequences. In this situation, he received four hundred thousand livres, to be paid to this government for one year's interest. We thought the honor of the United States would suffer less by suspending half the payment to this government, replacing Mr. Grand's advances, and providing a fund for current expenses. We advised him so to do. I still think it was for the best, and I believe my colleagues have continued to see the matter in the same point of view. We may have been biassed by the feelings excited by our own distressing situation. But certainly, as to Mr. Grand, no blame belongs to him. We explained this matter in a letter to Congress, at the time, and justice requires this explanation to

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you, as I conjecture that the former one has not come to your knowledge.

The two hundred thousand livres retained, as before mentioned, have been applied to the purposes described, to the payment of a year's interest to the French officers (which is about forty-two thousand livres), and other current expenses, which, doubtless, Mr. Grand has explained to you. About a week ago, there remained in his hands but about twelve thousand livres. In this situation, the demands of the French officers for a second year's interest, were presented. But Mr. Grand observed there were neither money nor orders for them. The payment of these gentlemen, the last year, had the happiest effect imaginable. It procured so many advocates for the credit and honor of the United States, who were heard in all companies. It corrected the idea that we were unwilling to pay our debts. I fear that our present failure towards them will give new birth to new imputations, and a relapse of credit. Under this fear, I have written to Mr. Adams to know whether he can have this money supplied from the funds in Holland; though I have little hope from that quarter, because he had before informed me, that those funds would be exhausted by the spring of the present year, and I doubt, too, whether he would venture to order these payments, without authority from you. I have thought it my duty to state these matters to you.

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I have had the honor of enclosing to Mr. Jay, Commodore Jones's receipts for one hundred and eighty-one thousand and thirty-nine livres, one sol and ten deniers, prize money, which (after deducing his own proportion) he is to remit to you, for the officers and soldiers who were under his command. I take the liberty of suggesting, whether the expense and risk of double remittances might not be saved, by ordering it into the hands of Mr. Grand, immediately, for the purposes of the treasury in Europe, while you could make provision at home for the officers and soldiers, whose demands will come in so slowly, as to leave the use of a great proportion of this money, for a considerable time, and some of it forever. We could, then, immediately quiet the French officers.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

January 27th, 1786.

SIR,—I had the honor of addressing you by the way of London on the 2d instant. Since that, yours of December 7th, has come to hand. I have now the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Barclay having settled, as far as depended on him, the account of Monsieur de Beaumarchais, left Paris on the 13th instant, to proceed to Morocco. Business obliged him to go

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by the way of L'Orient and Bordeaux, but he told me he should not be detained more than one day at either place. We may probably allow him to the last of February to be at Morocco.

The Imperial Ambassador some days ago observed to me, that about eighteen months ago Dr. Franklin had written to him a letter proposing a treaty of commerce between the Emperor and the United States; that he had communicated it to the Emperor, and had answered to Dr. Franklin, that they were ready to enter into an agreement for that purpose, but that he had received no reply from him. I told him I had been informed by Dr. Franklin of the letter making the proposition, but that this was the first I had ever heard of an answer expressing their readiness to enter into negotiations. That on the contrary, we had supposed no definitive answer had been given; and that, of course, the next move was on their side. He expressed astonishment at this, and seemed so conscious of having written such an answer, that he said he would have it sought for and send it to me for my inspection. However, he observed that the delay, having proceeded from the expectation of each party that the other was to make the next advance, and the matter being understood, the two parties might now proceed to enter into the necessary arrangements. I told him that Congress had been desirous of entering into connections of amity and commerce with his Imperial Majesty; that for this purpose they had com-

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missioned Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin and myself, or any two of us, to treat; that reasons of prudence had obliged them to affix some term to our commissions, and that two years were the term assigned; that the delay, therefore, which had happened, was the more unlucky, as these two years would expire in the ensuing spring. He said he supposed Congress could have no objection to renew our powers, or perhaps to appoint some person to treat at Brussels. I told him I was unable to answer that, and we omitted further communication on the subject till he should send me his letter written to Dr. Franklin. A few days after, his Secretaire d'Ambassade called on me with it. It was the letter of September 28, 1784, (transmitted in due time to Congress,) wherein he had informed Dr. Franklin that the Emperor was disposed to enter into commercial arrangements with us, and that he would give orders to the government of the Netherlands to take the necessary measures. I observed to Monsieur de Blumendorff (the secretary), that this letter showed we were right in our expectations of their taking the next step. He seemed sensible of it, said that the quarrel with Holland had engrossed the attention of government, and that these orders relating to the Netherlands only, it had been expected that others had been given which should include Hungary, Bohemia and the Austrian dominions in general, and that they still expected such orders. I told him that while they should be attending them, I would write to

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Mr. Adams in London, my colleague in this business, in concert with whom I must move in it. I think they are desirous of treating, and from questions asked me by Monsieur de Blumendorff, I suspect they have been led to that decision, either by the resolutions of Congress of April 1784, asking powers from the States to impose restraints on the commerce of States not connected with us *by treaty*, or else by an act of the Pennsylvania Assembly for giving such powers to Congress, which has appeared in the European papers. In the meantime, I own myself at a loss what to do. Our instructions are clearly to treat. But these made a part of a system wise and advantageous, if executed in all its parts, but which has hitherto failed in its most material branch, —that of connection with the powers having American territory. Should these continue to stand aloof, it may be necessary for the United States to enter into commercial regulations of a defensive nature. These may be embraced by treaties with the powers having no American territory, and who are most of them as little commercial as perhaps not to offer advantages which may countervail these embarrassments. In case of war, indeed, these treaties will become of value, and even during peace the respectability of the Emperor, who stands at the head of one of the two parties which seem at present to divide Europe, was a lustre to those connected with him— a circumstance not to be absolutely neglected by us under the actual situation of things. ———— a

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letter from Mr. Adams on this subject. Not trusting the posts, however, and obliged to wait private conveyances, our intercommunication is slow, and in the meanwhile our time shortening fast. I have the honor to enclose to you a letter from the Count de Vergennes, in favor of Mr. Dumas. With the services of this gentleman to the United States, yourself and Dr. Franklin are better acquainted than I am. Those he has been able to render towards effecting the late alliance between France and the United Netherlands, are the probable ground of the present application. The minister for Geneva has desired me to have enquiries made after the Mr. Gallatin, named in the within paper. I will pray you to have the necessary advertisements inserted in the papers, and to be so good as to favor me with the result. I enclose the Gazettes of France and Leyden to this date, and have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO DR. FRANKLIN.

PARIS, January 27th, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I had the honor of writing to you on the 5th of October, and since that have received yours of the 1st of the same month. We were highly pleased here with the health you enjoyed on your voyage, and with the reception you met with at home. This was no more than I expected. Had I

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had a vote for the Presidentship, however, I doubt whether I should not have withheld it from you that you might have leisure to collect and digest the papers you have written from time to time, and which the world will expect to be given them. This side of the globe is in a state of absolute quiet, both political and literary. Not a sheet, I think, has come out since your departure, which is worth notice. I do not know whether before that the Abbé Rochon had thought of using the metal platina for the specula telescope. Indeed, I believe the thought is not his originally, but has been carried into execution before by the Spaniards. It is thought to take as high a polish as the metallic composition generally used, and is not liable to rust. Hoffman's method of engraving with ink was, I believe, known to you. I sent the other day to Pancouche's, by Mr. Hopkinson's desire, to get the livraisons of the "Encyclopedie" which had not yet been taken out for him, and informed Pancouche that the subscription had been made by you. He sent me word two copies were subscribed for in your name, and at the same time sent both of them to me. Supposing that the other may be your own, and that you had not made arrangements for having it sent you, I received it, and forwarded it in the same box with Mr. Hopkinson's. If you have no better means of getting them in future, I offer my services very cheerfully to forward them from time to time. What I have paid for these [illegible] livres [illegible] sous, or may hereafter pay

for others, you can be so good as to replace in the hands of Mr. Hopkinson. If there should be any other commissions to be executed here for you, I should take real pleasure in being useful to you. Your friends here are all well I think, and make you much the subject of their conversation. I will trouble you to present my esteem to young Mr. Franklin, and add assurances of the real respect and regard with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, January 27, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you on the 11th of December, and on the 11th of this month I received your favor of July 15th, entrusted to Mrs. McCaulay Graham. I do not know from what place she sent it. The last papers from America present us a very disagreeable altercation between Mr. Jay, and a young man from whom he had deserved better things. Mr. Carmichael will, I fear, too, think himself involved. With him I am unacquainted personally, but he stands on advantageous grounds in the opinion of Europe, and most especially in Spain. Every person, whom I see from thence, speaks of him with great esteem. I mention this for your private satisfaction, as he seemed to be little known in Congress. Mr. Jay, however, knows him well, and, notwithstanding their little *broulerie*, his candor will do him

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justice. Dumas is a great favorite both of Holland and France. You will be sensible of this from the application which is communicated to Mr. Jay from the Count de Vergennes. Mr. Van Bukel had solicited for him before I came from America. This is a delicate matter, the more so as I believe Congress had set the example by a letter to the King last year. True there is no comparison between the characters solicited for. The death of Mr. Hardy was matter of sincere concern to us. He had excellent virtues, and only one foible, that of being too good-humored. This intelligence was written to me from London by Colonel Humphreys, who went there in November last. There being nothing going on here under the commissions, to which he is Secretary, and some little matter there, he will probably stay there some while yet, or perhaps divide his time between that place and this. I send by this packet drawings for the Capitol and Prison at Richmond. They are addressed to the Directors of the public buildings. If you have a curiosity to see them, open the round package which goes herewith, only be so good as to do them up again in the same way, and send them off by the first post. I think they will be a gratification to yourself and such members as like things of that kind. You see by my writing to you of American persons and things, that I have nothing for you from this quarter. Europe enjoys the most perfect repose, and will do so at least for another year. I have been in expectation of receiving instructions from you as

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to your "Encyclopédie." But none being come, I will endeavor to send it to you by this conveyance, if it can be got to l'Orient in time for the packet. The re-establishment of these vessels is still doubtful; and till they be re-established my correspondence will be very irregular. I have only to add assurances of the sincere esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

P. S. If I should be able to send on your copy of the "Encyclopédie," it will be accompanied by one for Dr. Currie, which I will pray you to forward to Richmond by land or water as you see best.

TO W. F. DUMAS.

PARIS, February 2, 1786.

SIR,—I was honored some time ago with a letter from you of December 6th, enclosing two for America, which I forwarded by the first occasion. On the 18th of this month, I received a letter from his Excellency the Count de Vergennes, expressing the interest which he takes in your welfare, and recommending you to Congress. This I had an opportunity of forwarding from hence on the 27th of January, under cover to Mr. Jay. Yesterday I was gratified with the receipt of your favor of January 27th, containing a copy of the resolution of Congress of October 24th, in your favor, and which I wish had been more so. With respect to the payment of the arrearages, two

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things are necessary: first, an order from the Treasury, and secondly, money to comply with it. Mr. Grand wrote me this morning that he had not now as much left as to pay a bill of Mr. Carmichael's for 4300 livres just presented. I shall forward your letter to Mr. Jay the next week, with a request that the necessary measures may be taken for the payment of your arrearages and interest. In the meantime, I think you would do well to write a line for the same purpose to Mr. Jay, or to the Commissioners of the Treasury. I do not mean that what I have said above should prevent your drawing in due time for the salary of the current quarter. I will honor the draught from a private fund with which I can take that liberty. I thank you for what you say of the Notes on Virginia. It is much more than they deserve. Though the various matters they touch on would have been beyond the information of any one person whatever to have treated fully, and infinitely beyond mine, yet had I at the time of writing them, had anything more in view than the satisfying a single individual, they should have been more attended to both in form and matter. Poor as they are, they have been thought worthy of a surreptitious translation here, with the appearance of which very soon I have been threatened. This has induced me to yield to a friendly proposition from the Abbé Morellet, to translate and publish them himself. submitting the sheets previously to my inspection. As a translation by so able a hand will lessen the

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faults of the original, instead of their being multiplied by a hireling translator. I shall add to it a map and such other advantages as may prevent the mortification of my seeing it appear in the injurious form threatened. I shall with great pleasure send a copy of the original to you by the first opportunity, praying your acceptance of it.

I have the honor to be with great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, February 7, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I am honored with yours of January the 19th. Mine of January the 12th, had not, I suppose, at that time got to your hands, as the receipt of it is unacknowledged. I shall be anxious till I receive your answer to it.

I was perfectly satisfied before I received your letter, that your opinion had been misunderstood or misrepresented in the case of the Chevalier de Mezieres. Your letter, however, will enable me to say so with authority. It is proper it should be known, that you had not given the opinion imputed to you, though, as to the main question, it is become useless; Monsieur de Reyneval having assured me, that what I had written on that subject had perfectly satisfied the Count de Vergennes and himself, that this case could never come under the treaty.

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To evince, still further, the impropriety of taking up subjects gravely, on such imperfect information as this court had, I have this moment received a copy of an act of the Georgia Assembly, placing the subjects of France, as to real estates, on the footing of natural citizens, and expressly recognizing the treaty. Would you think anything could be added, after this, to put this question still further out of doors? A gentleman of Georgia assured me, General Oglethorpe did not own a foot of land in the State. I do not know whether there has been any American determination on the question, whether American citizens and British subjects, born before the Revolution, can be aliens to one another? I know there is an opinion of Lord Coke's, in Colvin's case, that if England and Scotland should, in the course of descent, pass to separate Kings, those born under the same sovereign during the union, would remain natural subjects and not aliens. Common sense urges some considerations against this. Natural subjects owe allegiance; but we owe none. Aliens are the subjects of a foreign power; we are not subjects of a foreign power. The King, by the treaty, acknowledges our independence; how, then, can we remain natural subjects? The King's power is, by the constitution, competent to the making peace, war and treaties. He had, therefore, authority to relinquish our allegiance by treaty. But if an act of parliament had been necessary, the parliament passed an act to confirm the treaty. So that it

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appears to me, that in this question, fictions of law alone are opposed to sound sense.

I am in hopes Congress will send a minister to Lisbon. I know no country with which we are likely to cultivate a more useful commerce. I have pressed this in my private letters.

It is difficult to learn anything certain here, about the French and English treaty. Yet, in general, little is expected to be done between them. I am glad to hear that the Delegates of Virginia had made the vote relative to English commerce, though they afterwards repealed it. I hope they will come to it again. When my last letters came away, they were engaged in passing the revisal of their laws, with some small alterations. The bearer of this, Mr. Lyons, is a sensible, worthy young physician, son of one of our judges, and on his return to Virginia. Remember me with affection to Mrs. and Miss Adams, Colonels Smith and Humphreys, and be assured of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PARIS, February 8, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—My last letters were of the 1st and 20th of September, and the 28th of October. Yours, unacknowledged, are of August the 20th, October the 3d, and November the 15th. I take this, the first safe opportunity, of enclosing to you the bills

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of lading for your books, and two others for your namesake of Williamsburg, and for the attorney, which I will pray you to forward. I thank you for the communication of the remonstrance against the assessment. Mazzei, who is now in Holland, promised me to have it published in the Leyden gazette. It will do us great honor. I wish it may be as much approved by our Assembly, as by the wisest part of Europe. I have heard, with great pleasure, that our Assembly have come to the resolution of giving the regulation of their commerce to the federal head. I will venture to assert, that there is not one of its opposers, who, placed on this ground, would not see the wisdom of this measure. The politics of Europe render it indispensably necessary that, with respect to everything external, we be one nation only, firmly hooped together. Interior government is what each State should keep to itself. If it were seen in Europe that all our States could be brought to concur in what the Virginia Assembly has done, it would produce a total revolution in their opinion of us, and respect for us. And it should ever be held in mind, that insult and war are the consequences of a want of respectability in the national character. As long as the States exercise, separately, those acts of power which respect foreign nations, so long will there continue to be irregularities committed by some one or other of them, which will constantly keep us on an ill footing with foreign nations.

I thank you for your information as to my Notes.

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The copies I have remaining shall be sent over, to be given to some of my friends, and to select subjects in the College. I have been unfortunate here with this trifle. I gave out a few copies only, and to confidential persons, writing in every copy a restraint against its publication. Among others, I gave a copy to a Mr. Williams; he died. I immediately took every precaution I could, to recover this copy. But, by some means or other, a bookseller had got hold of it. He employed a hireling translator, and is about publishing it in the most injurious form possible. I am now at a loss what to do as to England. Everything, good or bad, is thought worth publishing there; and I apprehend a translation back from the French, and a publication here. I rather believe it will be most eligible to let the original come out in that country; but am not yet decided.

I have purchased little for you in the book way, since I sent the catalogue of my former purchases. I wish, first, to have your answer to that, and your information, what parts of these purchases went out of your plan. You can easily say, buy more of this kind, less of that, &c. My wish is to conform myself to yours. I can get for you the original Paris edition of the "Encyclopédie," in thirty-five volumes, folio, for six hundred and twenty livres; a good edition, in thirty-nine volumes, 4to, for three hundred and eighty livres; and a good one, in thirty-nine volumes, 8vo, for two hundred and eighty livres. The new one will be superior in far the greater number

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of articles; but not in all. And the possession of the ancient one has, moreover, the advantage of supplying present use. I have bought one for myself, but wait your orders as to you. I remember your purchase of a watch in Philadelphia. If it should not have proved good, you can probably sell it. In that case, I can get for you, here, one made as perfect as human art can make it, for about twenty-four louis. I have had such a one made by the best and most faithful hand in Paris. It has a second hand, but no repeating, no day of the month, nor other useless thing to impede and injure the movements which are necessary. For twelve louis more, you can have in the same cover, but on the back, and absolutely unconnected with the movements of the watch, a pedometer, which shall render you an exact account of the distances you walk. Your pleasure hereon shall be awaited.

Houdon has returned. He called on me, the other day, to remonstrate against the inscription proposed for General Washington's statue. He says it is too long to be put on the pedestal. I told him I was not at liberty to permit any alteration, but I would represent his objection to a friend, who could judge of its validity, and whether a change could be authorized. This has been the subject of conversations here, and various devices and inscriptions have been suggested. The one which has appeared best to me may be translated as follows: "Behold, Reader, the form of George Washington. For his worth, ask History;

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that will tell it, when this stone shall have yielded to the decays of time. His country erects this monument: Houdon makes it." This for one side. On the second, represent the evacuation of Boston, with the motto, "Hostibus primum fugatis." On the third, the capture of the Hessians, with "Hostibus iterum devictis." On the fourth, the surrender of York, with "Hostibus ultimum debellatis." This is seizing the three most brilliant actions of his military life. By giving out, here, a wish of receiving mottos for this statue, we might have thousands offered, from which still better might be chosen. The artist made the same objection, of length, to the inscription for the bust of the Marquis de La Fayette. An alteration of that might come in time still, if an alteration was wished. However, I am not certain that it is desirable in either case. The State of Georgia has given twenty thousand acres of land to the Count d'Estaing. This gift is considered here as very honorable to him, and it has gratified him much. I am persuaded, that a gift of lands by the State of Virginia to the Marquis de La Fayette would give a good opinion here of our character, and would reflect honor on the Marquis. Nor, am I sure that the day will not come when it might be an useful asylum to him. The time of life at which he visited America was too well adapted to receive good and lasting impressions to permit him ever to accommodate himself to the principles of monarchical government; and

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it will need all his own prudence, and that of his friends, to make this country a safe residence for him. How glorious, how comfortable in reflection, will it be, to have prepared a refuge for him in case of a reverse. In the meantime, he could settle it with tenants from the freest part of this country, Bretaigne. I have never suggested the smallest idea of this kind to him; because the execution of it should convey the first notice. If the State has not a right to give him lands with their own officers, they could buy up, at cheap prices, the shares of others. I am not certain, however, whether in the public or private opinion, a similar gift to Count Rochambeau could be dispensed with. If the State could give to both, it would be better; but, in any event, I think they should to the Marquis. Count Rochambeau, too, has really deserved more attention than he has received. Why not set up his bust, that of Gates, Greene, Franklin, in your new capitol? Apropos of the capitol. Do, my dear friend, exert yourself to get the plan, begun on, set aside, and that adopted, which was drawn here. It was taken from a model which has been the admiration of sixteen centuries; which has been the object of as many pilgrimages as the tomb of Mahomet; which will give unrivalled honor to our State, and furnish a model whereon to form the taste of our young men. It will cost much less, too, than the one begun; because it does not cover one-half of the area. Ask, if you please, a sight of my letter of January the

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26th, to Messrs. Buchanan and Hay, which will spare me the repeating its substance here.

Everything is quiet in Europe. I recollect but one new invention in the arts, which is worth mentioning. It is a mixture of the arts of engraving and printing, rendering both cheaper. Write or draw anything on a plate of brass, with the ink of the inventor, and, in half an hour, he gives you engraved copies of it, so perfectly like the original, that they could not be suspected to be copies. His types for printing a whole page are all in one solid piece. An author, therefore, only prints a few copies of his work, from time to time, as they are called for. This saves the loss of printing more copies than may possibly be sold, and prevents an edition from being ever exhausted.

I am, with a lively esteem, dear Sir, your sincere friend and servant.

TO MONSIEUR HILLIARD D'AUBERTEUIL.

PARIS, February 20, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with your letter, and the books which accompanied it, for which I return you my hearty thanks. America cannot but be flattered with the choice of the subject, on which you are at present employing your pen. The memory of the American Revolution will be immortal, and will immortalize those who record it. The reward is encouraging, and will justify all those pains,

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which a rigorous investigation of facts will render necessary. Many important facts, which preceded the commencement of hostilities, took place in England. These may mostly be obtained from good publications in that country. Some took place in this country. They will be probably hidden from the present age. But America is the field where the greatest mass of important events were transacted, and where alone they can now be collected. I, therefore, much applaud your idea of going to that country, for the verification of the facts you mean to record. Every man there can tell you more than any man here, who has not been there; and the very ground itself will give you new insight into some of the most interesting transactions. If I can be of service to you, in promoting your object there, I offer myself freely to your use. I shall be flattered by the honor of your visit here, at any time. I am seldom from home before noon; but if any later hour should suit you better, I will take care to be at home, at any hour and day you will be pleased to indicate.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO DR. BANCROFT.

PARIS, February 26, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you on the 21st instant, on the subject of Mr. Paradise, which I hope you have received.

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By the death of Mr. Williams, a copy of my Notes on Virginia got into the hands of a bookseller, who was about publishing a very abominable translation of them, when the Abbé Morellet heard of it, and diverted him from it by undertaking to translate it for him. They will thus appear in French in spite of my precautions. The Abbé engaged me to make a map, which I wish to have engraved in London. It is on a single sheet, twenty-three inches square, and very closely written. It comprehends from Albemarle Sound to Lake Erie, and from Philadelphia to the mouth of the great Kanawha, containing Virginia and Pennsylvania, a great part of Maryland, and a part of North Carolina. It is taken from Suell, Hutchins, and Fry and Jefferson. I wish the favor of you to make two propositions for me, and to inform me of the result. 1. To know from one of the best engravers how much he will ask for the plate and engraving, and in how short a time after he received the original can he furnish the plate, done in the best manner; for the time is material, as the work is in the press. 2. To know of Faden, or any other map merchant, for how much he will undertake to furnish me 1,800 copies, on my sending the map to him, and in what time can he furnish them. On this alternative, I am to have nothing to do with the engraver, or any person but the undertaker. I am of opinion, he may furnish them to me for nothing, and fully indemnify himself by the sale of the maps. Though it is on a scale of only an inch to twenty miles, it is

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as particular as the four-sheet maps from which it is taken, and I answer for the exactness of the reduction. I have supplied some new places, though the first object which induced me to undertake it was to make a map for my book. I soon extended my view to the making as good a map of those counties as my materials would admit; and I have no doubt but that in the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, 600 copies can be sold for a dollar apiece. I shall finish it in about a fortnight, except the divisions in the counties of Virginia, which I cannot do at all till I can get Henry's map of Virginia. This I must trouble you to procure for me, and send immediately by the diligence; and also give me information on the premises as soon as possible. You will perceive that time will press. I hope the circumstances of this affair will plead my pardon for the trouble I am giving you. The expense of procuring and sending the map shall be replaced, and an infinitude of thanks attend you. Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

P. S. I do not propose that my name shall appear on the map, because it will belong to its original authors, and because I do not wish to place myself at the bar of the public.

TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

PARIS, February 28, 1786.

SIR,—Circumstances of public duty calling me suddenly to London, I take the liberty of mention-

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ing it to your Excellency, and of asking a few minutes' audience of you, at as early a day and hour as will be convenient to you, and that you will be so good as to indicate them to me. I would wish to leave Paris about Friday or Saturday, and suppose that my stay in London will be of about three weeks. I shall be happy to be the bearer of any commands your Excellency may have for that place, and will faithfully execute them. I cannot omit mentioning, how pleasing it would be to me to be enabled, before my departure, to convey to the American prisoners at St. Pol de Leon such mitigation of their fate as may be thought admissible.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE HONORABLE JOHN JAY.

PARIS, March 5, 1786.

SIR,—The several commissions to which Congress were pleased to appoint Colonel Humphreys Secretary of Legation, being shortly to expire, and a French packet offering him a convenient passage in the month of April, he proposes to avail himself of that occasion of returning to his own country, and of then presenting his respects and thanks to Congress, as a member of the several commissions with which his office was connected. I think it my duty to bear testimony to his ready, able, and faithful

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discharge of all its duties; and I beg leave, through you, to present this testimony to Congress, and to assure them that his talents and disposition are such as they may repose themselves on with security, should they think to avail our country of them on any future occasion. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir, yours, &c.

TO JOHN JAY.

LONDON, March 12, 1786.

SIR,—The date of a letter from London will doubtless be as unexpected to you as it was unforeseen by myself a few days ago. On the 27th of last month, Colonel Smith arrived in Paris with a letter from Mr. Adams, informing me that there was at this place a minister from Tripoli, having general powers to enter into treaties on behalf of his State, and with whom it was possible we might do something under our commission to that power; and that he gave reason to believe he could also make arrangements with us for Tunis. He further added that the minister of Portugal here had received ultimate instructions from his court, and that probably that treaty might be concluded in the space of three weeks were we all on the spot together. He, therefore, pressed me to come over immediately. The first of these objects had some weight on my mind, because, as we had sent no person to Tripoli or Tunis, I thought if we could meet a minister

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from them on this ground, our arrangements would be settled much sooner, and at less expense. But what principally decided me was the desire of bringing matters to a conclusion with Portugal before the term of our commissions should expire, or any new turn in the negotiations of France and England should abate their willingness to fix a connection with us. A third motive had also its weight. I hoped that my attendance here, and the necessity of shortening it, might be made use of to force a decisive answer from this court. I therefore concluded to comply with Mr. Adams's request. I went immediately to Versailles, and apprised the Count de Vergennes that circumstances of public duty called me hither for three or four weeks, arranged with him some matters, and set out with Colonel Smith for this place, where we arrived last night, which was as early as the excessive rigor of the weather admitted. I saw Mr. Adams immediately, and again to-day. He informs me that the minister of Portugal was taken ill five or six days ago, has been very much so, but is now somewhat better. It would be very mortifying, indeed, should this accident, with the shortness of the term to which I limit my stay here, defeat what was the principal object of my journey, and that, without which, I should hardly have undertaken it. With respect to this country, I had no doubt but that every consideration had been urged by Mr. Adams which was proper to be urged. Nothing remains

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undone in this way. But we shall avail ourselves of my journey here, as if made on purpose, just before the expiration of our commission, to form our report to Congress on the execution of that commission, which report they may be given to know, cannot be formed without decisive information of the ultimate determination of their court. There is no doubt what that determination will be; but it will be useful to have it; as it may put an end to all further expectations on our side the water, and show that the time is come for doing whatever is to be done by us for counteracting the unjust and greedy designs of this country. We shall have the honor, before I leave this place, to inform you of the result of the several matters which have brought me to it.

A day or two before my departure from Paris, I received your letter of January —. The question therein proposed, "How far France considers herself as bound to insist on the delivery of the posts," would infallibly produce another, How far we consider ourselves as guarantees of their American possessions, and bound to enter into any future war in which these may be attacked? The words of the treaty of alliance seem to be without ambiguity on either head, yet I should be afraid to commit Congress by answering without authority. I will endeavor, on my return, to sound the opinion of the minister, if possible without exposing myself to the other question. Should anything forcible be meditated on these posts, it would possibly be thought prudent,

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previously, to ask the good offices of France to obtain their delivery. In this case, they would probably say, we must first execute the treaty on our part by repealing all acts which have contravened it. Now this measure, if there be any candor in the court of London, would suffice to obtain a delivery of the posts from them without the mediation of any third power. However, if this mediation should be finally needed, I see no reason to doubt our obtaining it, and still less to question its omnipotent influence on the British court.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

LONDON, April 22, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—In your letter of October the 29th, you desired me to send you one of the new lamps. I tried at every probable place in Paris, and could not get a tolerable one. I have been glad of it since I came here, as I find them much better made here. I now deliver one, with this letter, into the hands of Mr. Fulwar Skipwith, a merchant from Virginia, settled here, who promises to send it to you, with one for Mr. C. Thomson. Be pleased to accept, this from me. It is now found that they may be used with almost any oil.

I expect to leave this place in about three days.

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Our public letters, joint and separate, will inform you what has been done, and what could not be done here. With respect to a commercial treaty with this country, be assured that this government not only has it not in contemplation at present to make any, but that they do not conceive that any circumstances will arise which shall render it expedient for them to have any political connection with us. They think we shall be glad of their commerce on their own terms. There is no party in our favor here, either in power or out of power. Even the opposition concur with the ministry and the nation in this. I can scarcely consider as a party the Marquis of Lansdowne, and a half dozen characters about him, such as Dr. Price, &c., who are impressed with the utility of a friendly connection with us. The former does not venture this sentiment in parliament, and the latter are not in situations to be heard. The Marquis of Lansdowne spoke to me affectionately of your brother, Doctor Lee, and desired his respects to him, which I beg leave to communicate through you. Were he to come into the ministry (of which there is not the most distant prospect), he must adopt the King's system, or go out again, as he did before, for daring to depart from it. When we see, that through all the changes of ministry which have taken place during the present reign, there has never been a change of system with respect to America, we cannot reasonably doubt, that this is the system of the King

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himself. His obstinacy of character we know; his hostility we have known, and it is embittered by ill success. If ever this nation, during his life, enter into arrangements with us, it must be in consequence of events of which they do not at present see a possibility. The object of the present ministry is to buoy up the nation with flattering calculations of their present prosperity, and to make them believe they are better without us than with us. This they seriously believe; for what is it men cannot be made to believe! I dined the other day in a company of the ministerial party. A General Clark, a Scotchman and ministerialist, sat next to me. He introduced the subject of American affairs, and in the course of the conversation told me that were America to petition Parliament to be again received on their former footing, the petition would be very generally rejected. He was serious in this, and I think it was the sentiment of the company, and is the sentiment perhaps of the nation. In this they are wise, but for a foolish reason. They think they lost more by suffering us to participate of their commercial privileges, at home and abroad, than they lose by our political severance. The true reason, however, why such an application should be rejected is, that in a very short time, we should oblige them to add another hundred millions to their debt in unsuccessful attempts to retain the subjection offered to them. They are at present in a frenzy, and will not be recovered from it till they shall have leaped

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the precipice they are now so boldly advancing to. Writing from England, I write you nothing but English news. The continent at present furnishes nothing interesting. I shall hope the favor of your letters at times. The proceedings and views of Congress, and of the Assemblies, the opinions and dispositions of our people in general, which, in governments like ours, must be the foundation of measures, will always be interesting to me; as will whatever respects your own health and happiness, being with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO CHARLES THOMSON.

LONDON, April 22, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—In one of your former letters, you expressed a wish to have one of the newly-invented lamps. I find them made here much better than at Paris, and take the liberty of asking your acceptance of one, which will accompany this letter. It is now found that any tolerable oil may be used in them. The spermaceti oil is best, of the cheap kind

I could write you volumes on the improvements which I find made, and making here, in the arts. One deserves particular notice, because it is simple, great, and likely to have extensive consequences. It is the application of steam, as an agent for working grist mills. I have visited the one lately made here. It was, at that time, turning eight pair of

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stones. It consumes one hundred bushels of coal a day. It is proposed to put up thirty pair of stones. I do not know whether the quantity of fuel, is to be increased. I hear you are applying the same agent in America, to navigate boats, and I have little doubt, but that it will be applied generally to machines, so as to supersede the use of water ponds, and of course to lay open all the streams for navigation. We know that steam is one of the most powerful engines we can employ; and in America, fuel is abundant. I find no new publication here worth sending to you. I shall set out for Paris within three or four days. Our public letters will inform you of our proceedings here.

I am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

LONDON, April 23, 1786.

SIR,—In my letter of March the 12th, I had the honor of explaining to you the motives which had brought me to this place. A joint letter from Mr. Adams and myself, sent by the last packet, informed you of the result of our conferences with the Tripoline minister. The conferences with the minister of Portugal have been drawn to a greater length than I expected. However, everything is now agreed, and the treaty will be ready for signature the day after to-morrow. I shall set out for Paris the same

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day. With this country nothing is done; and that nothing is intended to be done, on their part, admits not the smallest doubt. The nation is against any change of measures; the ministers are against it; some from principle, others from subserviency; and the King, more than all men, is against it. If we take a retrospect to the beginning of the present reign, we observe that amidst all the changes of ministry, no change of measures with respect to America ever took place; excepting only at the moment of the peace; and the minister of that moment was immediately removed. Judging of the future by the past, I do not expect a change of disposition during the present reign, which bids fair to be a long one, as the King is healthy and temperate. That he is persevering, we know. If he ever changes his plan, it will be in consequence of events, which, at present, neither himself nor his ministers place among those which are probable. Even the opposition dare not open their lips in favor of a connection with us, so unpopular would be the topic. It is not that they think our commerce unimportant to them. I find that the merchants here set sufficient value on it. But they are sure of keeping it on their own terms. No better proof can be shown of the security in which the ministers think themselves on this head, than that they have not thought it worth while to give us a conference on the subject, though, on my arrival, we exhibited to them our commission, observed to them that it

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would expire on the 12th of the next month, and that I had come over on purpose to see if any arrangements could be made before that time. Of two months which then remained, six weeks have elapsed without one scrip of a pen, or one word from a minister, except a vague proposition at an accidental meeting. We availed ourselves even of that, to make another essay to extort some sort of declaration from the court. But their silence is invincible. But of all this, as well as of the proceedings in the negotiation with Portugal, information will be given you by a joint letter from Mr. Adams and myself. The moment is certainly arrived, when the plan of this court being out of all doubt, Congress and the States may decide what their own measures should be.

The Marquis of Lansdowne spoke of you in very friendly terms, and desired me to present his respects to you, in the first letter I should write. He is thoroughly sensible of the folly of the present measures of this country, as are a few other characters about him. Dr. Price is among these, and is particularly disturbed at the present prospect. He acknowledges, however, that all change is desperate; which weighs more, as he is intimate with Mr. Pitt. This small band of friends, favorable as it is, does not pretend to say one word in public on our subject.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO JOHN JAY.

LONDON, April 23, 1786.

SIR,—In another letter of this day, I stated to you what had passed with public characters, since my arrival here. Conversations with private individuals, I thought it best not to mingle with the contents of that letter. Yet, as some have taken place which relate to matters within our instructions, and with persons whose opinions deserve to have some weight, I will take the liberty of stating them. In a conversation with an ancient and respectable merchant of this place, such a view of the true state of the commercial connections of America and Great Britain, was presented to him, as induced him to acknowledge they had been mistaken in their opinions, and to ask that Mr. Adams and myself would permit the chairman of the committee of American merchants to call on us. He observed that the same person happened to be also chairman of the committee of the whole body of British merchants; and that such was the respect paid to his person and office, that we might consider what came from him, as coming from the committees themselves. He called on us at an appointed hour. He was a Mr. Duncan Campbell, formerly much concerned in the American trade. We entered on the subject of the non-execution of the late treaty of peace, alleged on both sides. We observed that the refusal to deliver the western posts, and the

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withdrawing American property contrary to express stipulation, having preceded what they considered as breaches on our part, were to be considered as the causes of our proceedings. The obstructions thrown by our legislatures in the way of the recovery of their debts, were insisted on by him. We observed to him, that the great amount of the debt from America to Great Britain, and the little circulating coin in the former country, rendered an immediate payment impossible; that time was necessary; that we had been authorized to enter into explanatory arrangements on this subject; that we had made overtures for the purpose, which had not been attended to, and that the States had, therefore, been obliged to modify the article for themselves. He acknowledged the impossibility of immediate payment, the propriety of an explanatory convention, and said that they were disposed to allow a reasonable time. We mentioned the term of five years, including the present; but that judgments might be allowed immediately, only dividing the execution into equal and annual parts, so that the last should be levied by the close of the year 1790. This seemed to be quite agreeable to him, and to be as short a term as would be insised on by them. Proceeding to the sum to be demanded, we agreed that the principal, with the interest incurring before and after the war, should be paid; but, as to that incurring during the war, we differed from him. He urged its justice with respect to themselves, who

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had laid out of the use of their money during that period. This was his only topic. We opposed to it all those which circumstances, both public and private, gave rise to. He appeared to feel their weight, but said the renunciation of this interest was a bitter pill, and such a one as the merchants here could not swallow. He wished that no declaration should be made as to this article; but we observed that if we entered into explanatory declarations of the points unfavorable to us, we should expect, as a consideration for this, corresponding declarations on the parts in our favor. In fact, we supposed his view was to leave this part of the interest to stand on the general expressions of the treaty, that they might avail themselves, in individual cases, of the favorable dispositions of debtors or juries. We proceeded to the necessity of arrangements of our future commerce, were it only as a means of enabling our country to pay its debts. We suggested that they had been contracted, while certain modes of remittance had existed here, which had been an inducement to us to contract these debts. He said he was not authorized to speak on the subject of the future commerce. He appeared really and feelingly anxious that arrangements should be stipulated as to the payment of the old debts; said he would proceed in that moment to Lord Caermarthen's, and discuss the subject with him, and that we might expect to hear from him. He took leave, and we have never since heard from

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him or any other person on the subject. Congress will judge how far these conversations should influence their future proceedings, or those of the States.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE COUNT DE VERGENNES.

PARIS, May 3, 1786.

SIR,—After begging leave to present my respects to your Excellency, on my return to this place, I take the liberty of offering to your attention some papers, which I found on my arrival here, written by sundry merchants of L'Orient, and others, some of whom are citizens of the United States, and all of them concerned in the trade between the two countries. This has been carried on, by an exchange of the manufactures and produce of this country, for the produce of that, and principally for tobacco, which, though, on its arrival here, confined to a single purchaser, has been received equally from all sellers. In confidence of a continuance of this practice, the merchants of both countries were carrying on their commerce of exchange. A late contract by the Farm has, in a great measure, fixed in a single mercantile house, the supplies of tobacco wanted for this country. This arrangement found the established merchants with some tobacco on hand, some on the seas coming to them, and more

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still due. By the papers now enclosed, it seems that there are six thousand four hundred and eight hogsheads, in the single port of L'Orient. Whether government may interfere, as to articles furnished by the merchants after they had notice of the contract before mentioned, must depend on principles of policy. But those of justice seem to urge, that, for commodities furnished before such notice, they should be so far protected, as that they may wind up without loss, the transactions in which the new arrangement found them actually engaged. Your Excellency is the best judge, how far it may be consistent with the rules of government, to interfere for their relief; and with you, therefore, I beg leave entirely to rest their interests.

Information lately received, relative to the Barbary States, has suggested, that it might be expedient, and perhaps necessary for us, to pave the way to arrangements with them, by a previous application to the Ottoman Porte. Your Excellency's intimate acquaintance with this subject would render your advice to us equally valuable and desirable. If you would be pleased to permit me to wait on you, any day or hour which shall be most convenient to yourself, I should be much gratified by a little conversation with you on this subject.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO JOHN PAGE.

PARIS, May 4, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your two favors of March the 15th and August the 23d, 1785, by Monsieur de la Croix, came to hand on the 15th of November. His return gives me an opportunity of sending you a copy of the nautical almanacs for 1786, '7, '8, '9. There is no late and interesting publication here, or I would send it by the same conveyance. With these almanacs, I pack a copy of some Notes I wrote for Monsieur de Marbois, in the year 1781, of which I had a few printed here. They were written in haste, and for his private inspection. A few friends having asked copies, I found it cheaper to print than to write them. They will offer nothing new to you, not even as an oblation of my friendship for you, which is as old almost as we are ourselves. Mazzei brought me your favor of April the 28th. I thank you much for your communications. Nothing can be more grateful at such a distance. It is unfortunate that most people think the occurrences passing daily under their eyes, are either known to all the world, or not worth being known. They therefore do not give them place in their letters. I hope you will be so good as to continue your friendly information. The proceedings of our public bodies, the progress of the public mind on interesting questions, the casualties which happen among our private friends, and whatever is interesting to yourself and

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family, will always be anxiously received by me. There is one circumstance in the work you were concerned in, which has not yet come to my knowledge; to wit, how far westward from Fort Pitt does the western boundary of Pennsylvania pass, and where does it strike the Ohio? The proposition you mention from Mr. Anderson, on the purchase of tobacco, I would have made use of, but that I have engaged the abuses of the tobacco trade on a more general scale. I confess their redress is by no means certain; but, till I see all hope of removing the evil by the roots desperate, I cannot propose to prune its branches.

I returned but three or four days ago from a two months' trip to England. I traversed that country much, and own both town and country fell short of my expectations. Comparing it with this, I found a much greater proportion of barrens, a soil, in other parts, not naturally so good as this, not better cultivated, but better manured, and, therefore, more productive. This proceeds from the practice of long leases there, and short ones here. The laboring people here are poorer than in England. They pay about one half their produce in rent; the English, in general, about a third. The gardening, in that country, is the article in which it surpasses all the earth. I mean their pleasure gardening. This, indeed, went far beyond my ideas. The city of London, though handsomer than Paris, is not so handsome as Philadelphia. Their architecture is

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in the most wretched style I ever saw, not meaning to except America, where it is bad, nor even Virginia, where it is worse than in any other part of America which I have seen. The mechanical arts in London are carried to a wonderful perfection. But of these I need not speak, because of them my countrymen have unfortunately too many samples before their eyes. I consider the extravagance, which has seized them, as a more baneful evil than toryism was during the war. It is the more so, as the example is set by the best and most amiable characters among us. Would a missionary appear, who would make frugality the basis of his religious system, and go through the land, preaching it up as the only road to salvation, I would join his school, though not generally disposed to seek my religion out of the dictates of my own reason, and feelings of my own heart. These things have been more deeply impressed on my mind, by what I have heard and seen in England. That nation hate us, their ministers hate us, and their King, more than all other men. They have the impudence to avow this, though they acknowledge our trade important to them. But they think, we cannot prevent our countrymen from bringing that into their laps. A conviction of this determines them to make no terms of commerce with us. They say, they will pocket our carrying trade as well as their own. Our overtures of commercial arrangements have been treated with a derision, which shows their firm persuasion, that we shall

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never unite to suppress their commerce, or even to impede it. I think their hostility towards us is much more deeply rooted at present, than during the war. In the arts, the most striking thing I saw there, new, was the application of the principle of the steam-engine to grist mills. I saw eight pair of stones which are worked by steam, and there are to be set up thirty pair in the same house. A hundred bushels of coal a day, are consumed at present. I do not know in what proportion the consumption will be increased by the additional geer.

Be so good as to present my respects to Mrs. Page and your family, to W. Lewis, F. Willis, and their families, and to accept yourself assurances of the sincere regard with which I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, May 5, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—A visit of two months to England has been the cause of your not hearing from me during that period. Your letters of February 3d, to Mr. Adams and myself, and of February 4th, to me, had come to hand before my departure. While I was in London, Mr. Adams received the letters giving information of Mr. Lambe's arrival in Algiers. In London, we had conferences with a Tripoline ambassador, now at that court, named Abdrahaman. He asked

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us thirty thousand guineas for a peace with his court, and as much for Tunis, for which he said he could answer. What we were authorized to offer, being to this but as a drop to a bucket, our conferences were repeated, only for the purpose of obtaining information. If the demands of Algiers and Morocco should be in proportion to this, according to their superior power, it is easy to foresee that the United States will not buy a peace with money. What principally led me to England was, the information that the Chevalier del Pinto, Portuguese minister at that court, had received full powers to treat with us. I accordingly went there, and, in the course of six weeks, we arranged a commercial treaty between our two countries. His powers were only to negotiate, not to sign. And as I could not wait, Mr. Adams and myself signed, and the Chevalier del Pinto expected daily the arrival of powers to do the same. The footing on which each has placed the other, is that of the most favored nation. We wished much to have had some privileges in their American possessions; but this was not to be effected. The right to import flour into Portugal, though not conceded by the treaty, we are not without hopes of obtaining.

My journey furnished us occasion to renew our overtures to the court of London; which it was the more important to do, as our powers to that court were to expire on the 12th of this month. These overtures were not attended to, and our commission expiring, we made our final report to Congress; and

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I suppose this the last offer of friendship which will ever be made on our part. The treaty of peace being unexecuted on either part, in important points, each will now take their own measures for obtaining execution. I think the King, ministers, and nation are more bitterly hostile to us at present, than at any period of the late war. A like disposition on our part has been rising for some time. In what events these things will end, we cannot foresee. Our countrymen are eager in their passions and enterprises, and not disposed to calculate their interests against these. Our enemies (for such they are, in fact) have for twelve years past followed but one uniform rule, that of doing exactly the contrary of what reason points out. Having, early during our contest, observed this in the British conduct, I governed myself by it in all prognostications of their measures; and I can say, with truth, it never failed me but in the circumstance of their making peace with us. I have no letters from America of later date than the new year. Mr. Adams had, to the beginning of February. I am in hopes our letters will give a new spur to the proposition, for investing Congress with the regulation of our commerce.

This will be handed you by a Baron Waltersdorf, a Danish gentleman, whom, if you did not already know, I should take the liberty of recommending to you. You were so kind as to write me that you would forward me a particular map, which has not come to hand. I beg you to be assured of the

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respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. DUMAS.

PARIS, May 6, 1786.

SIR,—Having been absent in England, for some time past, your favors of February the 27th, March the 28th, and April the 11th, have not been acknowledged as soon as they should have been. I am obliged to you, for assisting to make me known to the Rhingrave de Salm and the Marquis de la Coste, whose reputations render an acquaintance with them desirable. I have not yet seen either, but expect that honor from the Rhingrave very soon. Your letters to Mr. Jay and Mr. Van Berkel, received in my absence, will be forwarded by a gentleman who leaves this place for New York, within a few days. I sent the treaty with Prussia, by a gentleman who sailed from Havre, the 11th of November. The arrival of that vessel in America is not yet known here. Though the time is not long enough to produce despair, it is sufficiently so to give inquietude lest it should be lost. This would be a cause of much concern to me; I beg the favor of you to mention this circumstance to the Baron de Thulemeyer, as an apology for his not hearing from us. The last advices from America bring us nothing interesting. A principal object of my journey to London was to enter into commercial

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arrangements with Portugal. This has been done almost in the precise terms of those of Prussia. The English are still our enemies. The spirit existing there, and rising in America, has a very lowering aspect. To what events it may give birth, I cannot foresee. We are young and can survive them; but their rotten machine must crush under the trial. The animosities of sovereigns are temporary, and may be allayed; but those which seize the whole body of a people, and of a people, too, who dictate their own measures, produce calamities of long duration. I shall not wonder to see the scenes of ancient Rome and Carthage renewed in our day; and if not pursued to the same issue, it may be because the republic of modern powers will not permit the extinction of any one of its members. Peace and friendship with all mankind is our wisest policy; and I wish we may be permitted to pursue it. But the temper and folly of our enemies may not leave this in our choice. I am happy in our prospect of friendship with the most estimable powers of Europe, and particularly with those of the confederacy, of which yours is. That your present crisis may have a happy issue, is the prayer and wish of him who has the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

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TO WILLIAM DRAYTON.

PARIS, May 6, 1786.

SIR,—Your favor of November the 23d came duly to hand. A call to England, soon after its receipt, has prevented my acknowledging it so soon as I should have done. I am very sensible of the honor done me by the South Carolina society for promoting and improving agriculture and other rural concerns, when they were pleased to elect me to be of their body; and I beg leave, through you, Sir, to convey to them my grateful thanks for this favor. They will find in me, indeed, but a very unprofitable servant. At present, particularly, my situation is unfavorable to the desire I feel, of promoting their views. However, I shall certainly avail myself of every occasion which shall occur, of doing so. Perhaps I may render some service, by forwarding to the society such new objects of culture, as may be likely to succeed in the soil and climate of South Carolina. In an infant country, as ours is, these experiments are important. We are probably far from possessing, as yet, all the articles of culture for which nature has fitted our country. To find out these, will require abundance of unsuccessful experiments. But if, in a multitude of these, we make one useful acquisition, it repays our trouble. Perhaps it is the peculiar duty of associated bodies, to undertake these experiments. Under this sense of the views of the society, and with so little opportunity of being

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otherwise useful to them, I shall be attentive to procure for them the seeds of such plants, as they will be so good as to point out to me, or as shall occur to myself as worthy their notice. I send at present, by Mr. McQueen, some seeds of a grass, found very useful in the southern parts of Europe, and particularly, and almost solely cultivated in Malta. It is called by the names of Sulla, and Spanish St. Foin, and is the Hedysarum coronarium of Linnæus. It is usually sown early in autumn. I shall receive a supply of fresher seed, this fall, which I will also do myself the honor of forwarding to you. I expect, in the same season, from the south of France, some acorns of the cork oak, which I propose for your society, as I am persuaded they will succeed with you. I observed it to grow in England, without shelter; not well, indeed, but so as to give hopes that it would do well with you. I shall consider myself as always honored by the commands of the society, whenever they shall find it convenient to make use of me, and beg you to be assured, personally, of the sentiments of respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO W. T. FRANKLIN.

PARIS, May 7, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—On my return from a two months' visit to England, I found here your favor of January

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the 18th. This contains the latest intelligence I have from America. Your effects not being then arrived gives me anxiety for them, as I think they went in a vessel which sailed from Havre the 11th of November. In this vessel, went also the two Messrs. Fitzhughs of Virginia, with the Prussian treaty, our papers relative to the Barbary States, with the despatches for Congress, and letters which I had been writing to other persons in America for six weeks preceding their departure. I am obliged to you for the information as to Dr. Franklin's health, in which I feel a great interest. I concur in opinion with you, that in the present factious division of your State, an angel from heaven could do no good. I have been sorry, therefore, from the beginning, to see such time as Dr. Franklin's wasted on so hopeless a business. You have formed a just opinion of Monroe. He is a man whose soul might be turned wrong side out wards, without discovering a blemish to the world. I wish with all my heart, Congress may call you into the diplomatic line, as that seems to have attracted your own desires. It is not one in which you can do anything more than pass the present hour agreeably, without any prospect to future provision. Perhaps, the arrangements with Portugal, by adding to the number of those appointments, may give Congress an opportunity of doing justice to your own, and to Dr. Franklin's services. If my wishes could aid you, you have them sincerely. My late return to this place scarcely enables me to give you any of its news.

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I have not yet called on M. La Veillard, or seen any of your acquaintances. The marriage of the ambassador of Sweden with Miss Neckar, you have heard of. Houdon is about taking a wife also. His bust of the General has arrived, and meets the approbation of those who know the original. Europe enjoys a perfect calm, at present. Perhaps it may be disturbed by the death of the King of Prussia, which is constantly expected. As yet, we have no information from the Barbary States, which may enable us to prognosticate the success of our endeavors to effect a peace in that quarter. Present me respectfully and affectionately to Dr. Franklin, and accept assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

PARIS, May 7, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you, was of the 11th of October. Soon after that, your favor of the 12th September came to hand. My acknowledgment of this is made later than it should have been, by my trip to England. Your long silence I ascribe to a more pleasing cause, that of devoting your spare time to one more capable of filling it with happiness, and to whom, as well as to yourself, I wish all those precious blessings which this change of condition is calculated to give you.

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My public letters to Mr. Jay will have apprised you of my journey to England, and of its motives; and the joint letters of Mr. Adams and myself, of its effects. With respect to Portugal, it produced arrangements; with respect to England and Barbary, only information. I am quite at a loss what you will do with England. To leave her in possession of our posts, seems inadmissible; and yet to take them, brings on a state of things for which we seem not to be in readiness. Perhaps a total suppression of her trade, or an exclusion of her vessels from the carriage of our produce, may have some effect; but I believe not very great. Their passions are too deeply and too universally engaged in opposition to us. The ministry have found means to persuade the nation, that they are richer than they were while we participated of their commercial privileges. We should try to turn our trade into other channels. I am in hopes this country will endeavor to give it more encouragement. But what will you do with the piratical States? Buy a peace at their enormous price; force one; or abandon the carriage into the Mediterranean to other powers? All these measures are disagreeable. The decision rests with you. The Emperor is now pressing a treaty with us. In a commercial view, I doubt whether it is desirable; but in a political one, I believe it is. He is now undoubtedly the second power in Europe, and on the death of the King of Prussia, he becomes the first character. An alliance with him will give us respect-

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ability in Europe, which we have occasion for. Besides, he will be at the head of the second grand confederacy of Europe, and may, at any time, serve us with the powers constituting that. I am pressed on so many hands to recommend Dumas to the patronage of Congress, that I cannot avoid it. Everybody speaks well of him, and his zeal in our cause. Anything done for him will gratify this court, and the patriotic party in Holland, as well as some distinguished individuals. I am induced, from my own feelings, to recommend Colonel Humphreys to your care. He is sensible, prudent, and honest, and may be very firmly relied on, in any office which requires these talents. I pray you to accept assurances of the sincere esteem and respect with which I am, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. OTTO.

PARIS, May 7, 1786.

SIR,—My absence in England, for some time past, has prevented my acknowledging so soon as I should have done, the receipt of your favor of January 15. In that you speak of having written other letters, but no other has ever come to my hands. I thank you for the intelligence that contained, several articles of which never came to me through any other channel. On this side of the water everything is quiet. But the death of the King of Prussia is daily

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expected, and I think it very possible this event may bring on a disturbance of the peace of Europe, as the elastic spirit of the Emperor will feel itself restrained by one pressure the less. This possibility excepted, Europe never had a more pacific appearance. Among the Dutch, the republican party seems to be quite triumphant. The misunderstanding between Spain and Naples cannot produce any immediate consequences; and that between France and Portugal, we are told, is amicably settled. It is said that the Elector of Bavaria is in an ill state of health. His death, with that of the King of Prussia, would hazard the tranquillity of Europe. I have not heard from the Chevalier de La Luzerne since my return. Count Adhemer is again in England. A change in the ministry here is more talked of and expected than at any time since my coming to this place. It is said the Baron de Breteuil will go out; that M. de Calonnes will be transferred to this place, and a Monsieur Maillan succeed him. But the public know too little and talk too much of these things to command our belief. The marriage of the Swedish ambassador with the daughter of Mr. Neckar, you have known long ago. The Cardinal de Rohan and Cagliotho remain where they did, in the Bastile; nor does their affairs seem as yet to draw towards a conclusion. It has been a curious matter, in which the circumstances of intrigue and detail have busied all the tongues, the public liberty none. I have been laboring with the ministry to get the trade between this

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country and the United States put on a better footing, by admitting a free importation and sale of our produce, assuring them that we should take their manufactures at whatever extent they would enable us to pay for them. The importation of our whale oil is, by the successful endeavors of M. de La Fayette, put on a good footing for this year. Mine, for emancipating the tobacco trade, have been less successful. I still continue to stir, however, this and all other articles. I think myself happy in the prospect of a correspondence with you, and am with sincere respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO COLONEL HUMPHREYS.

PARIS, May 7, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—My stay in London having been considerably longer than I had expected, I did not arrive in this place till the last day of April. I found here your kind letter of the 4th of that month, acknowledging, much more than they deserved, my little attentions to you. Their only merit was their being faithful testimonies of a sincere regard for you. The obligations have, in fact, been on my side, and I shall ever consider it as such. I sincerely wish that on your arrival in America, your own preference may be gratified by an appointment on that side of the water, to which your inclinations lead you. I have

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received the books and papers you mention, and will undertake to have finished what you left undone of the medals, or at least will proceed in it, till the matter shall be put into better hands. My principal object in my journey to London was accomplished by arrangements with Portugal. They are almost exactly in the terms of those with Prussia; except that the general license to trade is restrained to those places where any foreign nation is admitted. The Tripoline offered peace for 30,000 guineas for Tripoli, and as many for Tunis. Calculating on this scale, Morocco should ask 60,000, and Algiers 120,000. England declines all arrangements with us. They say their commerce is so necessary to us, that we shall not deny it to ourselves for the sake of the carrying business, as the only trade they leave us is that with Great Britain immediately, and that is a losing one. I hope we shall show them we have sense and spirit enough to suppress that, or at least to exclude them from any share in the carriage of our commodities. Their spirit towards us is deeply hostile, and they seem as if they did not fear a war with us. Should such an event become necessary, we have need of but only one resolution to place us on sure ground. That is, to abandon that element where they are strong and we nothing; and to decide the contest on terra firma, where we have all to gain, and can lose nothing. The death of the King of Prussia is constantly expected. Perhaps that event may bring on a general broil. I am too lately

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returned here to be able to give you any of the news of the place. I shall hope to hear from you soon and often, and am, with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO JAMES ROSS.

PARIS, May 8, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favor of October the 22d, and am much gratified by the communications therein made. It has given me details, which do not enter into the views of my ordinary correspondents, and which are very entertaining. I experience great satisfaction at seeing my country proceed to facilitate the intercommunications of its several parts, by opening rivers, canals and roads. How much more rational is this disposal of public money, than that of waging war.

Before the receipt of your letter, Morris's contract for sixty thousand hogsheads of tobacco was concluded with the Farmers General. I have been for some time occupied in endeavoring to destroy the root of the evils, which the tobacco trade encounters in this country, by making the ministers sensible, that merchants will not bring a commodity to a market, where but one person is allowed to buy it; and that so long as that single purchaser is obliged to go to foreign markets for it, he must pay for it in coin, and not in commodities. These truths have made their way to the minds of the ministry,

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insomuch, as to have delayed the execution of the new lease of the Farms, six months. It is renewed, however, for three years, but so as not to render impossible a reformation of this great evil. They are sensible of the evil, but it is so interwoven with their fiscal system, that they find it hazardous to disentangle. The temporary distress, too, of the revenue, they are not prepared to meet. My hopes, therefore, are weak, though not quite desperate. When they become so, it will remain to look about for the best palliative this monopoly can bear. My present idea is, that it will be found in a prohibition to the Farmers General, to purchase tobacco anywhere but in France. You will perceive by this, that my object is to strengthen the connection between this country and my own, in all useful points. I am of opinion that twenty-three thousand hogsheads of tobacco, the annual consumption of this country, do not exceed the amount of those commodities which it is more advantageous to us to buy here than in England, or elsewhere; and such a commerce would powerfully reinforce the motives for a friendship from this country towards ours. This friendship we ought to cultivate closely, considering the present dispositions of England towards us.

I am lately returned from a visit to that country. The spirit of hostility to us has always existed in the mind of the King, but it has now extended itself through the whole mass of the people, and the majority in the public councils. In a country, where

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the voice of the people influence so much the measures of administration, and where it coincides with the private temper of the King, there is no pronouncing on future events. It is true they have nothing to gain, and much to lose by a war with us. But interest is not the strongest passion in the human breast. · There are difficult points, too, still unsettled between us. They have not withdrawn their armies out of our country, nor given satisfaction for the property they brought off. On our part, we have not paid our debts, and it will take time to pay them. In conferences with some distinguished mercantile characters, I found them sensible of the impossibility of our paying these debts at once, and that an endeavor to force universal and immediate payment, would render debts desperate, which are good in themselves. I think we should not have differed in the term necessary. We differed essentially in the article of interest. For while the principal, and interest preceding and subsequent to the war, seem justly due from us, that which accrued during the war does not. Interest is a compensation for the use of money. Their money, in our hands, was in the form of lands and negroes. Tobacco, the produce of these lands and negroes (or as I may call it, the interest of them), being almost impossible of conveyance to the markets of consumption, because taken by themselves in its way there, sold during the war, at five or six shillings the hundred. This did not pay taxes, and for tools and other plantation charges.

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A man who should have attempted to remit to his creditor tobacco, for either principal or interest, must have remitted it three times before one cargo would have arrived safe; and this from the depredations of their own nation, and often of the creditor himself; for some of the merchants entered deeply into the privateering business. The individuals, who did not, say they have lost this interest; the debtor replies, that he has not gained it, and that it is a case, where a loss having been incurred, every one tries to shift it from himself. The known bias of the human mind from motives of interest should lessen the confidence of each party in the justice of their reasoning; but it is difficult to say, which of them should make the sacrifice, both of reason and interest. Our conferences were intended as preparatory to some arrangement. It is uncertain how far we should have been able to accommodate our opinions. But the absolute aversion of the government to enter into any arrangement prevented the object from being pursued. Each country is left to do justice to itself and to the other, according to its own ideas, as to what is past; and to scramble for the future, as well as they can; to regulate their commerce by duties and prohibitions, and perhaps by cannons and mortars; in which event, we must abandon the ocean, where we are weak, leaving to neutral nations the carriage of our commodities; and measure with them on land, where they alone can lose. Farewell, then, all our useful improvements

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of canals and roads, reformations of laws, and other rational employments. I really doubt whether there is temper enough, on either side, to prevent this issue of our present hatred. Europe is, at this moment, without the appearance of a cloud. The death of the King of Prussia, daily expected, may raise one. My paper admonishes me, that after asking a continuance of your favors, it is time for me to conclude with assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO T. PLEASANTS.

PARIS, May 8, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—At the time of the receipt of your favor of October the 24th, the contract between the Farmers General and Mr. Morris, for tobacco, was concluded, and in a course of execution. There was no room, therefore, to offer the proposals which accompanied your letter. I was moreover engaged in endeavors to have the monopoly, in the purchase of this article, in this country, suppressed. My hopes on that subject are not desperate, but neither are they flattering. I consider it as the most effectual means of procuring the full value of our produce, of diverting our demands for manufactures from Great Britain to this country to a certain amount, and of thus producing some equilibrium in our commerce, which, at present, lies all in the British scale. It would

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cement an union with our friends, and lessen the torrent of wealth which we are pouring into the laps of our enemies. For my part, I think that the trade with Great Britain is a ruinous one to ourselves; and that nothing would be an inducement to tolerate it, but a free commerce with their West Indies; and that this being denied to us, we should put a stop to the losing branch. The question is, whether they are right in their prognostications that we have neither resolution nor union enough for this. Everything I hear from my own country, fills me with despair as to their recovery from their vassalage to Great Britain. Fashion and folly are plunging them deeper and deeper into distress; and the legislators of the country becoming debtors also, there seems no hope of applying the only possible remedy, that of an immediate judgment and execution. We should try whether the prodigal might not be restrained from taking on credit the gewgaw held out to him in one hand, by seeing the keys of a prison in the other. Be pleased to present my respects to Mrs. Pleasants, and to be assured of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, May 10, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of January the 27th. Since that I have received yours of January the 19th. Information from other quarters gives me

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reason to suspect you have in negotiation a very important change in your situation. You will carry into its execution all my wishes for your happiness. I hope it will not detach you from a settlement in your own country. I had even entertained hopes of your settling in my neighborhood, but these were determined by your desiring a plan of a house for Richmond. However reluctantly I relinquish this prospect, I shall not the less readily obey your commands by sending you a plan. Having been much engaged since my return from England in answering letters and despatching other business which had accumulated during my absence, and being still much engaged, perhaps I may not be able to send the plan by this conveyance. If I do not send it now, I will surely by the next conveyance after this. Your "Encyclopédie," containing eighteen livraisons, went off last night for Havre, from whence it will go in a vessel bound to New York. It will be under the care of M. La Croix, a passenger, who, if he does not find you in New York, will carry it to Virginia, and send it to Richmond. Another copy, in a separate box, goes for Currie. I pay here all charges to New York. What may occur afterwards, I desire him to ask either of you or Currie, as either will pay for the other, or to draw on me for them.

My letters to Mr. Jay will have informed you of the objects which carried me to England; and that the principal one, the treaty with Portugal, has been accomplished. Though we were unable to procure

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any special advantages in that, yet we thought it of consequence to insure our trade against those particular checks and discouragements which it has heretofore met with there. The information as to the Barbary States, which we obtained from Abdrahaman, the Tripoline ambassador, was also given to Mr. Jay. If it be right, and the scale of proportion between those nations, which we had settled, be also right, eight times the sum required by Tripoli will be necessary to accomplish a peace with the whole, that is to say, about two hundred and forty thousand guineas. The continuance of this peace will depend on their idea of our power to enforce it, and on the life of the particular Dey, or other head of the government, with whom it is contracted. Congress will, no doubt, weigh these circumstances against the expense, and probable success of compelling a peace by arms. Count d'Estaing having communicated to me verbally some information as to an experiment formerly made by this country, I shall get him to put it into writing, and I will forward it to Congress, as it may aid them in their choice of measures. However, which plan is most eligible can only be known to yourselves, who are on the spot, and have under your view all the difficulties of both. There is a third measure, that of abandoning the Mediterranean carriage to other nations.

With respect to England, no arrangements can be taken. The merchants were certainly disposed to have consented to accommodation as to the article of

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debts. I was not certain, when I left England, that they would relinquish the interest during the war. A letter received since, from the first character among the American merchants in Scotland, satisfies me they would have relinquished it to insure the capital and residue of interest. Would to heaven all the States, therefore, would settle a uniform plan. To open the courts to them, so that they might obtain judgments; to divide the executions into so many equal annual instalments, as that the last might be paid in the year 1790; to have the payments in actual money; and, to include the capital, and interest preceding and subsequent to the war, would give satisfaction to the world, and to the merchants in general. Since it is left for each nation to pursue their own measures in the execution of the late treaty, may not Congress with propriety recommend a mode of executing that article respecting the debts, and send it to each State to be passed into law. Whether England gives up the posts or not, these debts must be paid, or our character stained with infamy among all nations and through all time. As to the satisfaction for slaves carried off, it is a bagatelle, which, if not made good before the last instalment becomes due, may be secured out of that.

I formerly communicated the overtures for a treaty which had been made by the Imperial Ambassador. The instructions from Congress being in their favor, and Mr. Adams' opinion also, I encouraged them. He expected his full powers when I went to England.

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Yet I did not think, nor did Mr. Adams, that this was of importance enough to weigh against the objects of that journey. He received them soon after my departure, and communicated it to me on my return, asking a copy of our propositions. I gave him one, but observed our commission had then but a few days to run. He desired I should propose to Congress the giving new powers to go on with this, and said, that in the meantime he would arrange with us the plan. In a commercial view, no great good is to be gained by this; but in a political one, it may be expedient. As the treaty would, of course, be in the terms of those of Prussia and Portugal, it will give us but little additional embarrassment in any commercial regulations we may wish to establish. The exceptions from these, which the other treaties will require, may take in the treaty with the Emperor. I should be glad to communicate some answer as soon as Congress shall have made up their minds on it. My information to Congress on the subject of our commercial articles with this country has only come down to January the 27th. Whether I shall say anything on it in my letter to Mr. Jay by this conveyance, depends on its not being too early for an appointment I expect hourly from the Count de Vergennes, to meet him on this and other subjects. My last information was, that the lease was too far advanced to withdraw from it the article of tobacco, but that a clause is inserted in it, empowering the King to discontinue it at any time. A discontinu-

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ance is, therefore, the only remaining object, and as even this cannot be effected till the expiration of the old lease, which is about the end of the present year, I have wished only to stir the subject from time to time, so as to keep it alive. This idea led me into a measure proposed by the Marquis de La Fayette, whose return from Berlin found the matter at that point, to which my former report to Congress had conducted it. I communicated to him what I had been engaged on, what were my prospects, and my purpose of keeping the subject just open. He offered his services with that zeal which commands them on every occasion respecting America. He suggested to me the meeting two or three gentlemen, well acquainted with this business. We met. They urged me to propose to the Count de Vergennes, the appointing a committee to take the matter into consideration. I told them that decency would not permit me to point out to the Count de Vergennes the mode by which he should conduct a negotiation, but that I would press again the necessity of an arrangement, if, whilst that should be operating on his mind, they would suggest the appointment of a committee. The Marquis offered his services for this purpose. The consequence was the appointment of a committee, and the Marquis as a member of it. I communicated to him my papers. He collected other lights wherever he could, and particularly from the gentlemen with whom we had before concerted, and who had a good acquaintance with the subject.

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The Marquis became our champion in the committee, and two of its members, who were of the corps of Farmers General, entered the lists on the other side. Each gave in memorials. The lease, indeed, was signed while I was gone to England, but the discussions were, and still are continued in the committee, from which we derive two advantages: first, that of showing that the object is not to be relinquished; and second, that of enlightening government as to its true interest. The Count de Vergennes is absolutely for it; but it is not in his department. Calonnes is his friend, and in this instance his principle seems to be, *Amica veritas, sed magis amicus Plato.* An additional hope is founded in the expectation of a change of the minister of finance. The present one is under the absolute control of the Farmers General. The committee's views have been somewhat different from mine. They despair of a suppression of the "Farm," and therefore wish to obtain palliatives, which would coincide with the particular good of this country. I think that so long as the monopoly in the sale is kept up, it is of no consequence to us how they modify the pill for their own internal relief; but, on the contrary, the worse it remains, the more necessary it will render a reformation. Any palliative would take from us all those arguments and friends, that would be satisfied with accommodation. The Marquis, though differing in opinion from me on this point, has, however, adhered to my principle of absolute liberty or nothing. In this condition is the

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matter at this moment. Whether I say anything on the subject to Mr. Jay will depend on my interview with the Count de Vergennes. I doubt whether that will furnish anything worth communicating, and whether it will be in time I therefore state thus much to you, that you may see the matter is not laid aside.

I must beg leave to recommend Colonel Humphreys to your acquaintance and good offices. He is an excellent man, an able one, and in need of some provision. Besides former applications to me in favor of Dumas, the Rhingrave of Salm (the effective minister of the government of Holland, while their two ambassadors here are ostensible) who is conducting secret arrangements for them with this court, presses his interests on us. It is evident the two governments make a point of it. You ask why they do not provide for him themselves? I am not able to answer the question, but by a conjecture that Dumas's particular ambition prefers an appointment from us. I know all the difficulty of this application which Congress has to encounter. I see the reasons against giving him the primary appointment at that court, and the difficulty of his accommodating himself to a subordinate one. Yet I think something must be done in it to gratify this court, of which we must be always asking favors. In these countries, personal favors weigh more than public interest. The minister who has asked a gratification for Dumas, has embarked his own feelings and repu-

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tation in that demand. I do not think it was discreet by any means. But this reflection might, perhaps, aggravate a disappointment. I know not really what you can do; but yet hope something will be done. Adieu, my dear Sir, and believe me to be yours affectionately.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, May 11, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I do myself the honor of enclosing to you letters which came to hand last night, from Mr. Lambe, Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Barclay. By these you will perceive that our peace is not to be purchased at Algiers but at a price far beyond our powers. What that would be, indeed, Mr. Lambe does not say, nor probably does he know. But, as he knew our ultimatum, we are to suppose from his letter, that it would be a price infinitely beyond that. A reference to Congress hereon seems to be necessary. Till that can be obtained, Mr. Lambe must be idle at Algiers, Carthagena, or elsewhere. Would he not be better employed in going to Congress? They would be able to draw from him and Mr. Randall, the information necessary to determine what they will do. And if they determine to negotiate, they can re-appoint the same, or appoint a new negotiator, according to the opinion they shall form on their examination. I suggest this to you as my first

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thoughts; an ultimate opinion should not be formed till we see Mr. Randall, who may be shortly expected. In the meantime, should an opportunity occur, favor me with your ideas hereon, that we may be maturing our opinions. I shall send copies of these three letters to Mr. Jay, by the packet which sails from L'Orient the first of next month.

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I have the honor to be, with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MESSRS. ST. VICTOUR AND BETTINGER.

PARIS, May 12, 1786.

GENTLEMEN,—On my return from London, which was but a few days ago, I found your letter of April 8th. I communicated it to the Marquis de La Fayette, to whom, equally with myself, an attention to the purchase of arms has been recommended by the State of Virginia. Before we can order the receipt of the arms at Bordeaux, we are of opinion they should previously go through all the examinations and proofs usually practised with the King's arms. As the Marquis is best acquainted with the detail of these, I have asked and obtained his leave to refer you to him on the subject. You will, therefore, be so good as to confer with him thereon. I have an opportunity of writing to the Governor of Virginia to-morrow, and I should be well pleased to be able to inform him what number of arms you have

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now ready to deliver, and what other numbers you expect to deliver, with the epochs of delivery. If you could give me this information by the return of the bearer, at any time to-day, it would much oblige, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant.

TO HONORABLE JOHN JAY.

PARIS, May 12, 1786.

SIR,—The last letters I had the honor of addressing you from this place were of the 2d and 27th of January. Those from London were of the 12th of March, and 23d of April.

In the month of February, the Baron de Blome, minister plenipotentiary at this court from Denmark, informed me that he was instructed by his court to give notice to the ministers from the United States, appointed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with them, that the Baron de Waltersdorff, formerly commissioned by them for the same purpose, had received another destination, which called him to the West Indies, that they were sensible of the advantages which would arise to the two countries from a commercial intercourse—that their ports accordingly were placed on a very free footing, as they supposed ours to be also—that they supposed the commerce on each part might be well conducted under the actual arrangements, but that whenever any circumstances should arise which would render particular stipulations more eligible, they would be ready to

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concur with the United States in establishing them, being desirous of continuing on the terms of the strictest harmony and friendship with them.

In my letter of Jan. 27th, I informed you of what had passed between the Imperial Ambassador and Secretary of Embassy and myself, on the subject of the treaty with their sovereign. The Ambassador was in hourly expectation of receiving his full powers when I was called to London. Though I had received Mr. Adams's opinion in favor of our proceeding in the treaty, yet it was neither his nor my opinion that this object should overweigh those which called me to London. A treaty with Portugal was more important, exclusive of what was to be done with England and the States of Barbary. On my return to Paris, the Secretary called on me to inform me the Ambassador had received his full powers very soon after my departure, and was now ready to begin on our arrangements; that he was sensible, however, that these could not be settled before our commission would expire, but as he supposed Congress would be willing to renew it, we might proceed to confer together, leaving the effect of our conferences to rest on the event of a removal of the commission. He asked, also, a draft of our propositions as a ground work to proceed on. I met with the Ambassador a few days after. He said the same things in substance, and concluded by asking our propositions. I gave him a draught, which was a copy of what we had originally proposed to Den-

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mark, with such alterations as had occurred, and been approved in our negotiations with Prussia, Tuscany and Portugal.

The enclosed letters of December 9th and January 18th, from O'Bryan, of February 24th, March 12th, 20th, 23d, 27th, 31st, April 8th and 10th from Mr. Barclay, of March 29th from Mr. Lambe, and February 3d and April 12th from Mr. Carmichael, will put you in possession of my latest intelligence of the affairs of Morocco and Algiers. You will perceive by them that Mr. Randall may be daily expected here. If the propositions to Algiers appear from his account to be as unhopeful as Mr. Lambe seems to consider them, it is not impossible that Mr. Adams and myself may think that, instead of remaining at Carthagena, as Mr. Lambe proposes, it will be better for him to proceed to Congress. Without occasioning any loss of time, this will offer the two advantages of giving them all the information he may be possessed of, and of putting it in their power to appoint any negotiator they may think proper, should they find negotiations still eligible. However, Mr. Adams and myself shall have better grounds to decide on when we shall receive the information from Mr. Randall.

Colonel Humphreys carried you the London Gazette to the beginning of April. I now enclose it from that to the present date, together with the Gazette of France from February 3d, to May 12th. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest

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esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE HONORABLE MR. JAY.

PARIS, May 22, 1786.

SIR,—The duty has been imposed on me of making the following communication to Congress. It is necessary for me previously to observe that, though the government of the United Netherlands have both an ordinary and an extraordinary ambassador here, yet the Patriotic party, now decisively possessed of the powers of government, have sent hither the Rhingrave de Salm, as possessing their plenary confidence, to treat with this Court on some matters not yet made known to the public. His character and credit accordingly are so well known here, that, passing by the regular ambassador, they are actually in negotiation with him. He took occasion to speak with me to-day on the subject of Mr. Dumas. After saying much in his favor, he assured me that Congress could not so much oblige the Patriotic party as by naming Mr. Dumas to their diplomatic appointment at the Hague; and, further, that should they have anything interesting to do there, there was no other man who could do it so effectually as Mr. Dumas. I wished to avoid flattering his expectations, and therefore mentioned to him the resolution of Congress confining their diplomatic appointments to citizens of the United States. He seemed to

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admit they could not expect him to be made minister plenipotentiary, but asked if it would not be possible to give him another character. I told him we were in the usage of appointing only one character inferior to that of minister plenipotentiary, which was that of chargé des affaires. That I was far from presuming to say that could be obtained in the present case; but that one other difficulty occurred to me in that moment. I observed that they had a minister plenipotentiary with Congress, and that Congress, naming for their Court only a chargé des affaires, might, perhaps, be considered as disrespectful, and might occasion the recall of their minister. He assured me it could not; nay, that it should not. We are, continued he, but a party, and therefore cannot make a general declaration on this subject; but we know how far we can undertake; and, if you please, the members of our party shall go and make a declaration privately before the French ambassador at our Court, that nothing amiss shall be conceived of it. I told him this would not be desired. He asked me if I thought Count de Vergennes' writing a second letter on this subject would be of service. I told him not to suppose a repetition of his application could be material. My object in avoiding a second letter from the Count de Vergennes as well as the declaration before the French ambassador, was that embarrassments might not be multiplied, if Congress should not think proper to comply with their request. He concluded by desir-

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ing I would urge this matter to Congress. It seems certain that Mr. Dumas has rendered himself very useful to the government of both France and Holland in the late negotiations. It was natural, therefore, that these governments should provide for him. I know not how it has happened that we are resorted to on the occasion, unless, perhaps, it is the particular wish of Mr. Dumas to receive this species of reward. Be this as it may, the reigning party in the United Netherlands, and the government of this country, commit themselves on this application, and it becomes a matter of calculation, in which their favor and the occasions we may have for it, are to be weighed against the sacrifices the present application call for. To pronounce on this would be beyond my province, which is merely that of being the channel of communication. This being desired in form, I suppose it is my duty to comply with.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, May 23, 1786.

SIR,—Letters received both from Madrid and Algiers, while I was in London, having suggested that treaties with the States of Barbary would be much facilitated by a previous one with the Ottoman

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Porte, it was agreed between Mr. Adams and myself, that, on my return, I should consult on this subject the Count de Vergennes, whose long residence at Constantinople rendered him the best judge of its expediency. Various circumstances have put it out of my power to consult him, till to-day. I stated to him the difficulties we were likely to meet with at Algiers; and asked his opinion what would be the probable expense of a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, and what its effect at Algiers. He said that the expense would be very great, for that presents must be made at that court, and every one would be gaping after them; and that it would not procure us a peace at Algiers one penny the cheaper. He observed that the Barbary States acknowledged a sort of vassalage to the Porte, and availed themselves of that relation, when anything was to be gained by it; but that whenever it subjected them to a demand from the Porte, they totally disregarded it; that money was the sole agent at Algiers, except so far as fear could be induced also. He cited the present example of Spain, which, though having a treaty with the Porte, would probably be obliged to buy a peace at Algiers, at the expense of upwards of six millions of livres. I told him we had calculated from the demands and information of the Tripoline ambassador at London, that to make peace with the four Barbary States would cost us between two and three hundred thousand guineas, if bought with money. The sum did not seem to exceed his expec-

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tations. I mentioned to him that, considering the uncertainty of a peace, when bought, perhaps Congress might think it more eligible to establish a cruise of frigates in the Mediterranean, and even to blockade Algiers. He supposed it would require ten vessels, great and small. I observed to him that Monsieur de Massiac had formerly done it with five; he said it was true, but that vessels of relief would be necessary. I hinted to him that I thought the English capable of administering aid to the Algerines. He seemed to think it impossible, on account of the scandal it would bring on them. I asked him what had occasioned the blockade by Monsieur de Massiac; he said an infraction of their treaty by the Algerines.

I had a good deal of conversation with him, also, on the situation of affairs between England and the United States; and particularly on their refusal to deliver up our posts. I observed to him that the obstructions thrown in the way of the recovery of their debts were the effect, and not the cause, as they pretended, of their refusal to deliver up the posts; that the merchants interested in these debts, showed a great disposition to make arrangements with us; that the article of time we could certainly have settled, and probably that of the interest during the war; but that the minister, showing no disposition to have these matters arranged, I thought it a sufficient proof that this was not the true cause of their retaining the posts. He concurred as to the justice of our requiring time for the payment of our debts; said nothing

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which showed a difference of opinion as to the article of interest, and seemed to believe fully that their object was to divert the channel of the fur trade, before they delivered up the posts, and expressed a strong sense of the importance of that commerce to us. I told him I really could not foresee what would be the event of this detention; that the situation of the British funds, and the desire of their minister to begin to reduce the national debt, seemed to indicate that they could not wish a war. He thought so, but that neither were we in a condition to go to war. I told him I was yet uninformed what Congress proposed to do on this subject, but that we should certainly always count on the good offices of France, and I was sure that the offer of them would suffice to induce Great Britain to do us justice. He said that surely we might always count on the friendship of France. I added, that by the treaty of alliance, she was bound to guarantee our limits, to us, as they should be established at the moment of peace. He said they were so, "*mais qu'il nous etoit necessaire de les constater*." I told him there was no question what our boundaries were; that the English themselves admitted they were clear beyond all question. I feared, however, to press this any further, lest a reciprocal question should be put to me, and therefore diverted the conversation to another object.

This is a sketch only of a conference which was long. I have endeavored to give the substance, and sometimes the expressions, where they were material.

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I supposed it would be agreeable to Congress to have it communicated to them, in the present undecided state in which these subjects are. I should add, that an explanation of the transaction of Monsieur de Massiac with the Algerines, before hinted at, will be found in the enclosed letter from the Count d'Estaing to me, wherein he gives also his own opinion. The whole is submitted to Congress, as I conceive it my duty to furnish them with whatever information I can gather, which may throw any light on the subjects depending before them.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COUNT DE VERGENNES.[1]

PARIS, May 31, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of yesterday, enclosing a copy of the Resolutions of the Committee on the subject of tobacco, and am bound to make my acknowledgments for this attention to the commerce between this country and the United States, which will, I hope, by this measure, be kept alive till more simple and permanent arrangements become practicable. I have communicated it to Congress by an opportunity which offered this morning. Perhaps it is for the want of information that I apprehend it possible for the London mer-

[1] Minister of Foreign Affairs for France.

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chants, availing themselves of their early notice of this regulation, and their proximity to the port of France, to run in French vessels the whole 15,000 hogsheads of the first year, before the French or American merchants can possibly bring them from America. This might defeat the end of the regulation, as those merchants would take payment in cash and not in merchandise. I suppose the Committee had in view *Tobaccos coming last from a port of the United States*, and that it may not be yet too late to restrain the orders to such only. Of this your Excellency is the best judge, to whom I have the honor of submitting the doubt; and am, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant

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TO M. LA MORLIERE.

PARIS, June 3, 1786.

SIR,—It is six years since the paper money of New England has ceased to circulate as money. It is considered at present as making a part of the national debt, and that the holders of it will be entitled to receive from the public as much gold or silver as the paper money could have brought at the time it was received by the holder, with an interest of 6 per cent. per annum. But, as yet, no precise arrangements have been taken for the payment either of principal or interest. Most of the subjects of France, having paper money, have deposited it in the hands of the

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French Minister or Council at New York, that payment may be demanded whenever it shall be provided by Congress. There are even speculators in America who will purchase it. But they give much less than its worth. As for myself I do not deal in it. I am, Sir, your very humble servant.

TO MESSRS. BUCHANAN AND HAY.

PARIS, June 15, 1786.

GENTLEMEN,—The model of the Capitol being at length finished, I have sent it down the Seine to Havre, it being necessary that it should go by water. I have not collected the accounts, but shall soon do it, and forward them to you; they will be less than I had expected. I shall pray you to account for their amount to the Governor and Council, as I have with them an account into which it will be easier for me to transfer the article. I enclose directions for opening the boxes in which the model is, and I shall put two copies of those directions under other covers to you in hopes some one of them may reach you with or before the model. I have the honor to be with much esteem, Gentlemen, your most obedient and humble servant.

TO MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, June 15, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Monsieur Farrin called on me on the subject of making Honfleur a free port, and wished me to solicit it. I told him it was for our interest,

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as for that also of all the world, that every port of France, and of every other country, should be free: that therefore we would wish Honfleur to be made so: that if the matter was in agitation, the Count de Vergennes would probably speak of it to me, in which case I should tell him with candor what I thought of it, but that I could not solicit it, as I had no instructions to do so. So far I said to him. I did not add, what I may safely do to you, that the measures proposed being more for the interest of France than of the United States, there is no reason for our desiring its adoption to be placed on the ground of favor to us; and again, that those who have had and who may yet have occasion to ask great favors, should never ask small ones. I have, therefore, thought it better that the United States should not be engaged in this negotiation. If the government, for its own interest, will make the port free, I shall be glad of it; but do not wish it enough to ask it. If you should be of a different opinion, I should be glad to converse with you on the subject. I write without reserve, knowing that you will be pleased with it; and that your zeal for our interest will induce you to do what is for the best. I am, my dear Sir, yours affectionately.

TO MR. CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, June 20, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 5th of May, by Baron Waltersdorff. Since that I have been

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honored with yours of April the 13th, and May the 16th, and 18th. The present covers letters to Mr. Lambe and Mr. Randall, informing them that the demands of Algiers for the ransom of our prisoners and also for peace are so infinitely beyond our instructions, that we must refer the matter back to Congress, and therefore praying them to come on immediately. I will beg the favor of you to forward these letters. The whole of this business, therefore, is suspended till we receive further orders, except as to Mr. Barclay's mission. Your bills have been received and honored. The first, naming expressly a letter of advice, and none coming, it was refused till the receipt of your letter to me, in which you mentioned that you had drawn two bills. I immediately informed Mr. Grand, who thereupon honored the bill.

I have received no public letters of late date. Through other channels, I have collected some articles of information, which may be acceptable to you.

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In a letter of March the 20th, from Dr. Franklin to me, is this passage: "As to public affairs, the Congress has not been able to assemble more than seven or eight States during the whole winter, so the treaty with Prussia remains still unratified, though there is no doubt of its being done soon, as a full Congress is expected next month. The disposition to furnish Congress with ample powers augments daily, as people become more enlightened. And I do not

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remember ever to have seen, during my long life, more signs of public felicity than appear at present throughout these States; the cultivators of the earth, who make the bulk of our nation, have made good crops, which are paid for at high prices, with ready money; the artisans too, receive high wages; and the value of all real estates is augmented greatly. Merchants and shopkeepers, indeed, complain that there is not business enough. But this is evidently not owing to the fewness of buyers, but to the too great number of sellers; for the consumption of goods was never greater, as appears by the dress, furniture, and manner of living, of all ranks of the people." His health is good, except as to the stone, which does not grow worse. I thank you for your attention to my request about the books, which Mr. Barclay writes me he has forwarded from Cadiz. I have the honor to be with great respect, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. LAMB.

PARIS, June 20, 1786.

SIR,—Having communicated to Mr. Adams the information received at different times, from yourself, from Mr. Randall and Mr. Carmichael, we find that the sum likely to be demanded by Algiers for the ransom of our prisoners, as well as for peace, is so infinitely beyond our powers, and the expectations of Congress, that it has become our duty to

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refer the whole matter back to them. Whether they will choose to buy a peace, to force one, or to do nothing, will rest in their pleasure. But that they may have all the information possible to guide them in their deliberations, we think it important that you should return to them. No time will be lost by this, and perhaps time may be gained. It is, therefore, our joint desire, that you repair immediately to New York, for the purpose of giving to Congress all the information on this subject which your journey has enabled you to acquire. You will consider this request as coming from Mr. Adams as well as myself, as it is by express authority from him that I join him in it. I am of opinion it will be better for you to come to Marseilles and by Paris; because there is a possibility that fresh orders to us, from Congress, might render it useful that we, also, should have received from you all possible information on this subject. And, perhaps, no time may be lost by this, as it might be long before you would get a passage from Alicant to America.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. JAY.

PARIS, July 8, 1786.

SIR,—My letters to you by the last French packet were dated May 12, 22, 23, 27, 27, and I sent, by the way of London, one dated May 21. Since this, I

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have been honored with yours of May the 5th. The letter therein enclosed for Mr. Dumas has been duly forwarded; and the report on the subject of the Consular convention I delivered to Count de Vergennes the first levee day after the return of the King, who was gone to Cherbourg at the time of my receiving it. Mr. Randall, being so far on his return, and meaning to go by the way of London, where his stay will be short, he will be the bearer of this letter, with which I have an opportunity of enclosing the last letters I have received from Mr. Barclay and Mr. Lambe. Mr. Barclay left Cadiz soon after the date of his letter. I wrote to Mr. Lambe on the 20th of June, with the concurrence of Mr. Adams, to repair to Congress with all possible despatch, recommending, but not enjoining, his coming by the way of Versailles and Paris, supposing it possible that the information he might communicate might be usefully applied by Mr. Adams and myself in the execution of the commands of Congress. I afterwards wrote him another letter, desiring expressly that if this route was likely to retard much his attendance on Congress, he would take such other as would be shortest. At the desire of Monsieur Houdon, I have the honor to enclose to you his propositions for making the equestrian statue of General Washington. In the autumn of the last year, I received letters from an American master of a ship of the name of Asquith, informing me that he had had a most disastrous passage across the Atlantic, that they had put into Brest then in such distress

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that they were obliged to make the first port possible, that they had been immediately seized by the officers of the Farmers General, their vessel and her lading seized, and that themselves were then in jail suffering from every want. Letters by every post gave me to believe their distress was very real. As all their cash was soon exhausted, and the winter setting in very severely, I desired a merchant in Brest to furnish them a livre a day apiece. It was some time before I could ascertain the nature of the proceedings against them. It proved at length to be a prosecution as for endeavoring to introduce tobacco in contraband. I was induced to order this allowance from evidence that the men, six in number, must inevitably perish if left to the pittance allowed by the Farmers General to their prisoners, and from a hope that the matter would soon be decided. I was led on by this delusive hope from week to week, and month to month, and it proved to be ten months before they were discharged. I applied early to Count de Vergennes, and was informed by him that the matter being in a regular course of law, there could be no interference, and that if the sentence should be against them I might expect a remission of so much of it as should depend on the King. They were condemned to forfeit their vessel and cargo, to a fine, and to the gallies. The fine and condemnation to the gallies were remitted immediately by the King, but the forfeiture of vessel and cargo being for the benefit of the Farmers, he could not remit that. They were also to pay the

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expenses of their prosecution, and to remain in jail till they did it. So that, upon the whole, I was obliged to advance for them 2620*l.* 2*s.*, being somewhat upwards of 100 guineas; for which I informed Asquith, from the beginning, he must consider himself as answerable to the United States. I accordingly enclose the account showing the purposes for which the money was paid, and his own original acknowledgment that it was for his use. I own I am uncertain whether I have done right in this; but I am persuaded some of them would have perished without this advance; I therefore thought it one of those cases where citizens, being under unexpected calamity, have a right to call for the patronage of the public servants. All the disinterested testimony I have been able to get has been in favor of the innocence of these men. Count de Vergennes, however, believed them guilty; and I was assured the depositions regularly taken were much against them. I enclose herewith the state of their case as it appeared to me in the beginning, and as I communicated it by letter to the minister.

Having been lately desired by the Swedish Ambassador here, to state to him what I thought the best measure for rendering the island of St. Bartholomew useful to the commerce of Sweden and the United States, I did it in a letter of which I enclose a copy. My view in doing it is, that if any farther or better measure should occur to Congress, on its being communicated to me, I can still suggest it

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to the Ambassador, probably before any final decision.

It being material that the reduction of the duties on whale oil, which would expire with the close of this year, should be revised in time for the whalemen to take measures in consequence, we have applied for a continuance of the reduction, and even for an abolition of all duties. The committee, of the creation of which I informed you in my letter of May 27, and of which the Marquis de La Fayette is a member, were in favor of the abolition. But there is little prospect, perhaps none at all, of obtaining confirmation of their sentence. I have no doubt of the continuance of the abatement of the duties on the footing stated in that letter. The term of three years will probably be adopted. The gazettes of Leyden and of France, from the former to the present date, accompany this. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. ADAMS.

PARIS, July 9, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 23d of May. Your favor of that date did not come to hand till the 19th of June. In consequence of it I wrote the next day letters to Mr. Lambe and Mr. Randall, copies of which I have now the honor to enclose you. In these, you will perceive I had desired Mr. Randall, who was

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supposed to be at Madrid, to return immediately to Paris and London, and to Mr. Lambe, supposed at Alicant, I recommended the route of Marseilles and Paris, expecting that no direct passage could be had from Alicant to America, and meaning, on his arrival here, to advise him to proceed by the way of London, that you also might have an opportunity of deriving from him all the information he could give. On the 2d of July, Mr. Randall arrived here, and delivered me a letter from Mr. Lambe, dated May the 20th, of which I enclose you a copy, as well as of another of June the 5th, which had come to hand some time before. Copies of these I have also sent to Mr. Jay. Yours of the 29th of June, by Dr. Bancroft, and enclosing a draught of a joint letter to Mr. Lambe, came to hand on the 5th instant. I immediately signed and forwarded it, as it left him more at liberty as to his route than mine had done. Mr. Randall will deliver you the present and supply the informations heretofore received. I think with you that Congress must begin by getting money. When they have this, it is a matter of calculation whether they will buy a peace, or force one, or do nothing. I am also to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of June 6, 25 and 26. The case of Grosse shall be attended to. I am not certain, however, whether my appearing in it may not do him harm by giving the captors a hope that our government will redeem their citizens. I have, therefore, taken measures to find them out and sound them. If nothing can be done privately, I will endeavor to interest this government.

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Have you no news yet of the treaty with Portugal? Does it hang with that court? My letters from New York of the 11th of May inform me that there were then eleven States present, and that they should ratify the Prussian treaty immediately. As the time for the exchange of ratifications is drawing to a close, tell me what is to be done, and how this exchange is to be made. We may as well have this settled between us before the arrival of the ratification, that no time may be lost after that. I learn through the Maréchal de Castries that he has information of New York's having ceded the impost in the form desired by Congress, so as to close this business. Corrections in the acts of Maryland, Pennsylvania, &c., will come of course. We have taken up again the subject of whale oil, that they may know in time in America what is to be done in it. I fear we shall not obtain any farther abatement of duties; but the last abatement will be continued for three years. The whole duties payable here are nearly one hundred and two livres on the English ton, which is an atom more than four guineas, according to the present exchange. The monopoly of the purchase of tobacco for this country, which had been obtained by Robert Morris, had thrown the commerce of that article in agonies. He had been able to reduce the price in America from 40 to 22*l.* lawful the hundred weight, and all other merchants being deprived of that medium of remittance, the commerce between America and that country, so far as it depended on

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that article, which was very capitally too, was absolutely ceasing. An order has been obtained, obliging the Farmers General to purchase from such other merchants as shall offer fifteen thousand hogsheads of tobacco at thirty-four, thirty-six and thirty-eight livres the hundred, according to the quality, and to grant to the sellers in other respects the same terms as they had granted to Robert Morris. As this agreement with Morris is the basis of this order, I send you some copies of it, which I will thank you to give to any American (not British) merchants in London who may be in that line. Seeing the year this contract has subsided, Virginia and Maryland have lost £400,000 by the reduction of the price of their tobacco.

I am meditating what step to take to provoke a letter from Mrs. Adams, from whom my files inform me I have not received one these hundred years. In the meantime, present my affectionate respects to her, and be assured of the friendship and esteem with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, July 9, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 10th of May; since which your favor of May the 11th has come to hand. The political world enjoys great quiet here.

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The King of Prussia is still living, but like the snuff of a candle, which sometimes seems out, and then blazes up again. Some think that his death will not produce any immediate effect in Europe. His kingdom, like a machine, will go on for some time with the winding up he has given it. The King's visit to Cherbourg has made a great sensation in England and here. It proves to the world, that it is a serious object to this country, and that the King commits himself for the accomplishment of it. Indeed, so many cones have been sunk, that no doubt remains of the practicability of it. It will contain, as is said, eighty ships of the line, be one of the best harbors in the world, and by means of two entrances, on different sides, will admit vessels to come in and go out with every wind. The effect of this, in another war with England, defies calculation. Having no news to communicate, I will recur to the subjects of your letter of May the 11th.

With respect to the new States, were the question to stand simply in this form:—How may the ultramontane territory be disposed of, so as to produce the greatest and most immediate benefit to the inhabitants of the maritime States of the Union?—the plan would be more plausible, of laying it off into two or three States only. Even on this view, however, there would still be something to be said against it, which might render it at least doubtful. But that is a question which good faith forbids us to receive into discussion. This requires us to state the

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question in its just form:—How may the territories of the Union be disposed of, so as to produce the greatest degree of happiness to their inhabitants? With respect to the maritime States, little or nothing remains to be done. With respect, then, to the ultramontane States, will their inhabitants be happiest, divided into States of thirty thousand square miles, not quite as large as Pennsylvania, or into States of one hundred and sixty thousand square miles, each, that is to say, three times as large as Virginia within the Alleghany? They will not only be happier in States of moderate size, but it is the only way in which they can exist as a regular society. Considering the American character in general, that of those people particularly, and the energetic nature of our governments, a State of such extent as one hundred and sixty thousand square miles, would soon crumble into little ones. These are the circumstances which reduce the Indians to such small societies. They would produce an effect on our people, similar to this. They would not be broken into such small pieces, because they are more habituated to subordination, and value more a government of regular law. But you would surely reverse the nature of things, in making small States on the ocean, and large ones beyond the mountains. If we could, in our consciences, say, that great States beyond the mountains will make the people happiest, we must still ask, whether they will be contented to be laid off into large States? They certainly will not; and, if they

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decide to divide themselves, we are not able to restrain them. They will end by separating from our confederacy, and becoming its enemies. We had better, then, look forward, and see what will be the probable course of things. This will surely be a division of that country into States of a small, or, at most, of a moderate size. If we lay them off into such, they will acquiesce; and we shall have the advantage of arranging them, so as to produce the best combinations of interest. What Congress have already done in this matter is an argument the more in favor of the revolt of those States against a different arrangement, and of their acquiescence under a continuance of that. Upon this plan, we treat them as fellow citizens; they will have a just share in their own government; they will love us, and pride themselves in an union with us. Upon the other, we treat them as subjects; we govern them, and not they themselves; they will abhor us as masters, and break off from us in defiance. I confess to you, that I can see no other turn that these two plans would take. But I respect your opinion, and your knowledge of the country too much, to be ever confident in my own.

I thank you sincerely for your communication, that my not having sooner given notice of the *Arrets* relative to fish gave discontent to some persons. These are the most friendly offices you can do me, because they enable me to justify myself, if I am right, or correct myself, if wrong. If those, who

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thought I might have been remiss, would have written to me on the subject, I should have admired them for their candor, and thanked them for it: for I have no jealousies nor resentments at things of this kind, where I have no reason to believe they have been excited by a hostile spirit; and I suspect no such spirit in a single member of Congress. You know there were two *Arrets;* the first of August the 30th, 1784, the second of the 18th and 25th of September, 1785. As to the first, it would be a sufficient justification of myself to say, that it was in the time of my predecessor, nine months before I came into office, and that there was no more reason for my giving information of it, when I did come into office, than of all the other transactions which preceded that period. But this would seem to lay a blame on Dr. Franklin for not communicating it, which I am confident he did not deserve. This government affects a secrecy in all its transactions whatsoever, though they be of a nature not to admit a perfect secrecy. Their *Arrets*, respecting the islands, go to those islands, and are unpublished and unknown in France, except in the bureau where they are formed. That of August, 1784, would probably be communicated to the merchants of the seaport towns also. But Paris having no commercial connections with them, if anything makes its way from a seaport town to Paris, it must be by accident. We have, indeed, agents in these seaports; but they value their offices so little, that they do not trouble

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themselves to inform us of what is passing there. As a proof that these things do not transpire here, nor are easily got at, recollect that Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, and myself were all here, on the spot together, from August, 1784, to June, 1785, that is to say, ten months, and yet not one of us knew of the *Arret* of August, 1784. September the 18th and 25th, 1785, the second was passed. And here alone I became responsible. I think it was about six weeks before I got notice of it, that is, in November. On the 20th of that month, writing to Count de Vergennes on another subject, I took occasion to remonstrate to him on that. But from early in November, when the Fitzhughs went to America, I had never a confidential opportunity of writing to Mr. Jay from hence, directly, for several months. In a letter of December the 14th to Mr. Jay, I mentioned to him the want of an opportunity to write to him confidentially, which obliged me, at that moment, to write by post, via London, and on such things only as both post offices were welcome to see. On the 2d of January, Mr. Bingham setting out for London, I wrote to Mr. Jay, sending him a copy of my letter to Count de Vergennes, and stating something which had passed in conversation on the same subject. I prayed Mr. Bingham to take charge of the letter, and either to send it by a safe hand, or carry it himself, as circumstances should render most advisable. I believe he kept it, to carry himself. He did not sail from London till about the 12th of March, nor arrived

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in America till about the middle of May. Thus you see that causes had prevented a letter which I had written on the 20th of November from getting to America till the month of May. No wonder, then, if notice of this *Arret* came first to you by way of the West Indies; and, in general, I am confident that you will receive notice of the regulations of this country, respecting their islands, by the way of those islands before you will from hence. Nor can this be remedied, but by a system of bribery which would end in the corruption of your own ministers, and produce no good adequate to the expense. Be so good as to communicate these circumstances to the persons who you think may have supposed me guilty of remissness on this occasion.

I will turn to a subject more pleasing to both, and give you my sincere congratulations on your marriage. Your own dispositions and the inherent comforts of that state, will insure you a great addition of happiness. Long may you live to enjoy it, and enjoy it in full measure. The interest I feel in every one connected with you, will justify my presenting my earliest respects to the lady, and of tendering her the homage of my friendship. I shall be happy, at all times, to be useful to either of you, and to receive your commands. I enclose you the bill of lading of your "Encyclopédie." With respect to the remittance of it, of which you make mention, I beg you not to think of it. I know, by experience, that on proceeding to make a settlement in life, a

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man has need of all his resources; and I should be unhappy were you to lessen them, by an attention to this trifle. Let it be till you have nothing else to do with your money. Adieu, my dear Sir, and be assured of the esteem with which I am, your friend and servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, July 11, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Our instructions relative to the Barbary States having required us to proceed by way of negotiation to obtain their peace, it became our duty to do this to the best of our power. Whatever might be our private opinions, they were to be suppressed, and the line, marked out to us, was to be followed. It has been so, honestly and zealously. It was, therefore, never material for us to consult together, on the best plan of conduct towards these States. I acknowledge, I very early thought it would be best to effect a peace through the medium of war. Though it is a question with which we have nothing to do, yet as you propose some discussion of it, I shall trouble you with my reasons. Of the four positions laid down in your letter of the 3d instant, I agree to the three first, which are, in substance, that the good offices of our friends cannot procure us a peace, without paying its price; that they cannot materially lessen that price; and that paying it, we can have the peace in

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spite of the intrigues of our enemies. As to the fourth, that the longer the negotiation is delayed, the larger will be the demand; this will depend on the intermediate captures: if they are many and rich, the price may be raised; if few and poor, it will be lessened. However, if it is decided that we shall buy a peace, I know no reason for delaying the operation, but should rather think it ought to be hastened; but I should prefer the obtaining it by war.

1. Justice is in favor of this opinion. 2. Honor favors it. 3. It will procure us respect in Europe; and respect is a safeguard to interest. 4. It will arm the federal head with the safest of all the instruments of coercion over its delinquent members, and prevent it from using what would be less safe. I think that so far, you go with me. But in the next steps, we shall differ. 5. I think it least expensive. 6. Equally effectual. I ask a fleet of one hundred and fifty guns, the one-half of which shall be in constant cruise. This fleet, built, manned and victualled for six months will cost four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Its annual expense will be three hundred pounds sterling a gun, including everything; this will be forty-five thousand pounds sterling a year. I take British experience for the basis for my calculation: though we know, from our own experience, that we can do in this way, for pounds lawful, what costs them pounds sterling. Were we to charge all this to the Algerine war, it

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would amount to little more than we must pay, if we buy peace. But as it is proper and necessary that we should establish a small marine force, (even were we to buy a peace from the Algerines,) and as that force, laid up in our dock-yards, would cost us half as much annually, as if kept in order for service, we have a right to say that only twenty-two thousand and five hundred pounds sterling, per annum, should be charged to the Algerine war. 6. It will be as effectual. To all the mismanagements of Spain and Portugal, urged to show that war against those people is ineffectual, I urge a single fact to prove the contrary, where there is any management. About forty years ago, the Algerines having broke their treaty with France, this court sent Monsieur de Massiac, with one large, and two small frigates; he blockaded the harbor of Algiers three months, and they subscribed to the terms he proposed. If it be admitted, however, that war, on the fairest prospects, is still exposed to uncertainties, I weigh against this, the greater uncertainty of the duration of a peace bought with money, from such a people, from a Dey eighty years old, and by a nation who, on the hypothesis of buying peace, is to have no power on the sea, to enforce an observance of it.

So far, I have gone on the supposition that the whole weight of this war would rest on us. But, 1. Naples will join us. The character of their naval minister (Acton), his known sentiments with respect to the peace Spain is officiously trying to make for

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them, and his dispositions against the Algerines, give the best grounds to believe it. 2. Every principle of reason assures us that Portugal will join us. I state this as taking for granted, what all seem to believe, that they will not be at peace with Algiers. I suppose, then, that a convention might be formed between Portugal, Naples and the United States, by which the burthen of the war might be quota-ed on them, according to their respective wealth; and the term of it should be, when Algiers should subscribe to a peace with all three, on equal terms. This might be left open for other nations to accede to, and many, if not most of the powers of Europe, (except France, England, Holland, and Spain, if her peace be made) would sooner or later enter into the confederacy, for the sake of having their peace with the piratical States guaranteed by the whole. I suppose, that, in this case, our proportion of force would not be the half of what I first calculated on.

These are the reasons which have influenced my judgment on this question. I give them to you, to show you that I am imposed on by a semblance of reason, at least; and not with an expectation of their changing your opinion. You have viewed the subject, I am sure, in all its bearings. You have weighed both questions, with all their circumstances. You make the result different from what I do. The same facts impress us differently. This is enough to make me suspect an error in my process of reasoning, though I am not able to detect it. It

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is of no consequence; as I have nothing to say in the decision, and am ready to proceed heartily on any other plan which may be adopted, if my agency should be thought useful. With respect to the dispositions of the State, I am utterly uninformed. I cannot help thinking, however, that on a view of all the circumstances, they might be united in either of the plans.

Having written this on the receipt of your letter, without knowing of any opportunity of sending it, I know not when it will go; I add nothing, therefore, on any other subject, but assurances of the sincere esteem and respect with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO COMMODORE JONES.

PARIS, July 11, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I am perfectly ready to transmit to America any accounts or proofs you may think proper. Nobody can wish more that justice be done you, nor is more ready to be instrumental in doing whatever may insure it. It is only necessary for me to avoid the presumption of appearing to decide where I have no authority to do it. I will this evening lodge in the hands of Mr. Grand the original order of the board of treasury, with instructions to receive from you the balance you propose to pay, for which he will give you a receipt on the back of

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the order. I will confer with you when you please on the affair of Denmark, and am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO M. DE CREVECOEUR.

PARIS, July 11, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with a letter from M. Delisle, Lieutenant General au bailleage de lain, to which is annexed a postscript from yourself. Being unable to write in French so as to be sure of conveying my true meaning, or perhaps any meaning at all, I will beg of you to interpret what I have now the honor to write.

It is time that the United States, generally, and most of the separate States in particular, are endeavoring to establish means to pay the interest of their public debt regularly, and to sink its principal by degrees. But as yet, their efforts have been confined to that part of their debts which is evidenced by *certificate*. I do not think that any State has yet taken measures for paying their *paper money* debt. The principle on which it shall be paid I take to be settled, though not directly, yet virtually, by the resolution of Congress of June 3d, 1784; that is, that they will pay the holder, or his representative, what the money was worth at the time he received it, with an interest from that time of six

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per cent. per annum. It is not said in the letter whether the money received by Barboutin was Continental money; nor is it said at what time it was received. But, that M. Delisle may be enabled to judge what the five thousand three hundred and ninety-eight dollars were worth in hard money when Barboutin received them, I will state to you what was the worth of one hard dollar, both in Continental and Virginia money, through the whole of the years 1779 and 1780, within some part of which it was probably received:

CONTINENTAL MONEY.		VIRGINIA MONEY.	
1779—Jan. 9,	$7\frac{77}{100}$	1779—Jan., 8	1780—Jan., 42
" 24,	$8\frac{84}{100}$	Feb., 10	Feb., 45
Feb. 11,	$9\frac{18}{100}$	Mar., 10	Mar., 50
Mar. 2,	10	Apr., 16	Apr., 60
Apr. 2,	$11\frac{13}{100}$	May, 20	May, 60
May 10,	$12\frac{81}{100}$	June, 20	June, 65
June 21,	$14\frac{8}{10}$	July, 21	July, 65
Aug. 8,	$16\frac{88}{100}$	Aug., 22	Aug., 70
Sept. 28,	20	Sept., 26	Sept., 72
Nov. 22,	$25\frac{6}{100}$	Oct., 28	Oct., 73
1780—Feb. 2,	$33\frac{44}{100}$	Nov., 36	Nov., 74
Mar. 18,	40	Dec., 40	Dec., 75

Thus you see that, in January, 1779, seven dollars and seventy-two hundredths of a dollar of Continental money were worth one dollar of silver, and at the same time, eight dollars of Virginia paper were worth one dollar of silver, &c. After March 18th, 1780, Continental paper, received in Virginia, will be estimated by the table of Virginia paper. I advise all the foreign holders of paper money to

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lodge it in the office of their consul for the State where it was received, that he may dispose of it for their benefit the first moment that payment shall be provided by the State or Continent. I had lately the pleasure of seeing the Countess d'Houditot well at Sanois, and have that now of assuring you of the perfect esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, July 17, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I have now the honor of enclosing to you an estimate of the exports and imports of the United States. Calculations of this kind cannot pretend to accuracy, where inattention and fraud combine to suppress their objects. Approximation is all they can aim at. Neither care nor candor have been wanting on my part to bring them as near the truth as my skill and materials would enable me to do. I have availed myself of the best documents from the custom-houses, which have been given to the public, and have been able to rectify these in many instances by information collected by myself on the spot in many of the States. Still remember, however, that I call them but approximations, and that they must present some errors as considerable as they were unavoidable.

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Our commerce divides itself into European and West Indian. I have conformed my statement to this division.

On running over the catalogue of American imports, France will naturally mark out those articles with which she could supply us to advantage; and she may safely calculate, that, after a little time shall have enabled us to get rid of our present incumbrances, and of some remains of attachment to the particular forms of manufacture to which we have been habituated, we shall take those articles which she can furnish, on as good terms as other nations, to whatever extent she will enable us to pay for them. It is her interest, therefore, as well as ours, to multiply the means of payment. These must be found in the catalogue of our exports, and among these will be seen neither gold nor silver. We have no mines of either of these metals. Produce, therefore, is all we can offer. Some articles of our produce will be found very convenient to this country for her own consumption. Others will be convenient, as being more commerciable in her hands than those she will give in exchange for them. If there be any which she can neither consume, nor dispose of by exchange, she will not buy them of us, and of course we shall not bring them to her. If American produce can be brought into the ports of France, the articles of exchange for it will be taken in those ports; and the only means of drawing it hither, is to let the merchant see that he can dispose of it on

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better terms here than anywhere else. If the market price of this country does not in itself offer this superiority, it may be worthy of consideration, whether it should be obtained by such abatements of duties, and even by such other encouragements as the importance of the article may justify. Should some loss attend this in the beginning, it can be discontinued when the trade shall be well established in this channel.

With respect to the West India commerce, I must apprise you that this estimate does not present its present face. No materials have enabled us to say how it stands since the war. We can only show what it was before that period. This is most sensibly felt in the exports of fish and flour. The surplus of the former, which these regulations threw back on us, is forced to Europe, where, by increasing the quantity, it lessens the price; the surplus of the latter is sunk, and to what other objects this portion of industry is turned or turning, I am not able to discover. The imports, too, of sugar and coffee are thrown under great difficulties. These increase the price; and being articles of food for the poorer class (as you may be sensible in observing the quantities consumed), a small increase of price places them above the reach of this class, which being very numerous, must occasion a great diminution of consumption. It remains to see whether the American will endeavor to baffle these new restrictions in order to indulge his habits, or will

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adopt his habits to other objects which may furnish employment to the surplus of industry formerly occupied in raising that bread which no longer finds a vent in the West Indian market. If, instead of either of these measures, he should resolve to come to Europe for coffee and sugar, he must lessen equivalently his consumption of some other European articles in order to pay for his coffee and sugar, the bread with which he formerly paid for them in the West Indies not being demanded in the European market. In fact, the catalogue of imports offer several articles more dispensable than coffee and sugar. Of all these subjects, the committee and yourself are the more competent judges. To you, therefore, I trust them, with every wish for their improvement; and, with sentiments of that perfect esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

ESTIMATE OF THE EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

	TO EUROPE.	TO WEST INDIES.	TOTAL.
	Louis.	*Louis.*	*Louis.*
Fish	107,000	50,000	157,000
Fish Oil	181,688	9,562	191,250
Fish Bones	8,400	.....	8,400
Salted Meats	.....	131,500	131,500
Live Stock	.....	99,000	99,000
Butter, Cheese	.....	18,000	18,000
Flour, Bread, 660,000 barrels	330,000	330,000	660,000
Wheat, 2,210,000 bushels	331,000	.....	331,000
Indian Corn	30,000	61,000	91,000
Rice, 130,000 barrels	189,350	70,650	260,000

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	TO EUROPE.	TO WEST INDIES.	TOTAL.
	Louis.	*Louis.*	*Louis.*
Indigo	51,700	.....	51,700
Tobacco, 87,000 hogsheads	1,306,000	.....	1,305,000
Potash, 20,000 barrels	49,000	.....	49,000
Peltry	184,900	.....	184,900
Flax Seed	79,500	.....	79,500
Hemp	21,000	.....	21,000
Iron, Copper	84,000	6,000	90,0000
Turpentine, &c., 60,000 barrels	29,410	1,800	31,250
Timber, Lumber	82,000	164,000	246,000
Hops, 300	216,500	.....	216,500
Miscellanies	22,000	.....	22,000
	3,302,448	941,552	4,244,000

ESTIMATE OF THE IMPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

FROM EUROPE AND AFRICA.

Woollen cloths of every description,	
Linens of every description,	
Hosiery, Hats,	
Gloves, Shoes, Boots, Sadlery and other things of leather,	
Silks, Gold and Silver Lace, Jewellery, Millinery, Toys,	
East India goods,	
Porcelaine, Glass, Earthenware,	
Silver, Copper, Brass, Tin, Pewter, Lead, Steel, Iron in every form,	*Louis. l. s.* 3,039,000 0 0
Upholstery, Cabinet Work, Painters' Colors,	
Cheese, Pickles, Confitures, Chocolate,	
Wine, 2,000 tons, at 100 louis, 200,000 louis, Brandy, Beer,	
Medicinal Drugs, Snuff, Bees' Wax,	
Books, Stationery, Mill Stones, Grind Stones, Marble,	
Sail Cloth, Cordage, Ship Chandlery, Fishing-tackle, Ivory, Ebony, Barwood, Dyewood,	
Slaves, Salt, 521,225 bushels, at 24 sous, 26,061 louis 6 livres,	

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FROM THE WEST INDIES.	*Louis.*	*l.*	*s.*	
Salt, 500,484 bushels, at 24 sous	25,020	4	16	
Fruits	2,239	12		
Cocoa, 576,589 lbs., at 12 sous	25,798	12		
Coffee, 408,494 lbs., at 16 sous	15,249	14	8	
Sugar, 10,232,432 lbs.	168,007			
Molasses, 3,645,464 gallons, at 24 sous.	186,281	19	4	
Rum, 3,888,370 gallons, at 2 livres 14 sous	437,441	15		927,438 8 8
Ginger, Pimento	1,395	1	4	
Cotton, 356,591 lbs., at 24 sous	17,829	13	4	
Skins	7,870	6		
Indigo, 4,352 lbs., at 5 livres 8 sous	979	4	16	
Ivory, Turtle Shell	247	4	16	
Lignum vitæ, Sarsaparilla, Fustic, Annotta	5,170			
Logwood	13,624	21		
Mahogany	23,280			
				3,966,438 8 8

TO THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

PARIS, July 22, 1786.

SIR,—An opportunity offering, at a moment's warning only, to London, I have only time to inform your Excellency that we have shipped from Bordeaux fifteen hundred stand of arms for the State of Virginia, of which I now enclose the bill of lading. A somewhat larger number of cartouch-boxes have been prepared here, are now packing, and will go to Havre immediately to be shipped there. As soon as these are forwarded, I will do myself the honor of sending you a state of the expenditures for these and other objects. The

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residue of the arms and accoutrements are in a good course of preparation. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant

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TO M. CATHALAN.

PARIS, August 8, 1786.

SIR,—I have been duly honored with your favor of July 28. I have in consequence thereof reconsidered the order of Council of Berny, and it appears to me to extend as much to the southern ports of France as to the western; and that for tobacco delivered in any port where there is no manufacture, only thirty sols per quintal is to be deducted. The farmers may perhaps evade the purchase of tobacco in a port convenient to them by purchasing the whole quantity in other ports. I shall readily lend my aid to promote the mercantile intercourse between your port and the United States whenever I can aid it. For the present, it is much restrained by the danger of capture by the piratical States.

I have the honor to be, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO GOVERNOR HENRY.

PARIS, August 9, 1786.

SIR,—I have duly received the honor of your Excellency's letter of May 17, 1786, on the subject

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of Captain Green, supposed to be in captivity with the Algerines. I wish I could have communicated the agreeable news that this supposition was well founded, and I should not have hesitated to gratify as well your Excellency as the worthy father of Captain Green, by doing whatever would have been necessary for his redemption. But we have certainly no such prisoner at Algiers. We have there twenty-one prisoners in all. Of these only four are Americans by birth. Three of these are Captains, of the names of O'Brian, Stephens, and Coffyn. There were only two vessels taken by the Algerines, one commanded by O'Brian, the other by Stephens. Coffyn, I believe, was a supercargo. The Moors took one vessel from Philadelphia, which they gave up again with the crew. No other captures have been made on us by any of the piratical States. I wish I could say we were likely to be secure against future captures. With Morocco I have hope we shall; but the States of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli hold their peace at a price which would be felt by every man in his settlement with the tax-gatherer.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. *August* 13, 1786. I have this morning received information from Mr. Barclay that our peace with the Emperor of Morocco would be pretty certainly signed in a few days. This leaves us the

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Atlantic free. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, however, remaining hostile, will shut up the Mediterranean to us. The two latter never come into the Atlantic; the Algerines rarely, and but a little way out of the Straits. In Mr. Barclay's letter is this paragraph, "There is a young man now under my care, who has been a slave sometime with the Arabs in the desert." His name is James Mercier, born at the town of Suffolk, Nansemond County, Virginia. The King sent him after the first audience, and I shall take him to Spain. On Mr. Barclay's return to Spain, he shall find there a letter from me to forward this young man to his own country, for the expenses of which I will make myself responsible.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 11, 1786.

SIR,—Since the date of my last, which was of July the 8th, I have been honored with the receipt of yours of June the 16th. I am to thank you on the part of the minister of Geneva for the intelligence it contained on the subject of Gallatin, whose relations will be relieved by the receipt of it.

The inclosed intelligence, relative to the instructions of the court of London to Sir Guy Carleton, came to me through the Count de La Touche, and Marquis de La Fayette. De La Touche is a director under the Maréchal de Castries, minister for the marine department, and possibly receives his intel-

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ligence from him, and he from their ambassador at London. Possibly, too, it might be fabricated here. Yet, weighing the characters of the ministry of St. James's at Versailles, I think the former more capable of giving such instructions, than the latter of fabricating them for the small purposes the fabrication could answer.

The Gazette of France, of July the 28th, announces the arrival of Peyrouse at Brazil, that he was to touch at Otaheite, and proceed to California, and still further northwardly. This paper, as you well know, gives out such facts as the court are willing the world should be possessed of. The presumption is, therefore, that they will make an establishment of some sort, on the north-west coast of America.

I trouble you with the copy of a letter from Scheveighauser and Dobrec, on a subject with which I am quite unacquainted. Their letter to Congress of November the 30th, 1780, gives their state of the matter. How far it be true and just can probably be ascertained from Dr. Franklin, Dr. Lee, and other gentlemen now in America. I shall be glad to be honored with the commands of Congress on this subject. I have inquired into the state of their arms, mentioned in their letter to me. The principal articles were about thirty thousand bayonets, fifty thousand gunlocks, thirty cases of arms, twenty-two cases of sabres, and some other things of little consequence. The quay at Nantes, having been overflowed by the river Loire, the greatest

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part of these arms were under water, and they are now, as I am informed, a solid mass of rust, not worth the expense of throwing them out of the warehouse, much less that of storage. Were not their want of value a sufficient reason against reclaiming the property of these arms, it rests with Congress to decide, whether other reasons are not opposed to this reclamation. They were the property of a sovereign body, they were seized by an individual, taken cognizance of by a court of justice, and refused, or at least not restored by the sovereign within whose States they had been arrested. These are circumstances which have been mentioned to me. Dr. Franklin, however, will be able to inform Congress, with precision, as to what passed on this subject. If the information I have received be anything like the truth, the discussion of this matter can only be with the court of Versailles. It would be very delicate, and could have but one of two objects: either to recover the arms, which are not worth receiving, or to satisfy us on the point of honor. Congress will judge how far the latter may be worth pursuing against a particular ally, and under actual circumstances. An instance, too, of acquiescence on our part under a wrong, rather than disturb our friendship by altercations, may have its value in some future case. However, I shall be ready to do in this what Congress shall be pleased to direct.

I enclose the despatches relative to the Barbary

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negotiation, received since my last. It is painful to me to overwhelm Congress and yourself continually with these voluminous papers. But I have no right to suppress any part of them, and it is one of those cases where, from a want of well-digested information, we must be contented to examine a great deal of rubbish, in order to find a little good matter.

The gazettes of Leyden and France, to the present date, accompany this, which, for want of direct and safe opportunities, I am obliged to send by an American gentleman, by the way of London. The irregularity of the French packets has diverted elsewhere the tide of passengers, who used to furnish me occasions of writing to you, without permitting my letters to go through the post office. So that when the packets go now, I can seldom write by them.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[The annexed is a translation of the paper referred to in the preceding letter, on the subject of the instructions given to Sir Guy Carleton.]

An extract of English political news, concerning North America. July 14th, 1786.

General Carleton departs in a few days with M. de La Naudiere, a Canadian gentleman. He has made

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me acquainted with the Indian, Colonel Joseph Brandt. It is certain that he departs with the most positive instructions to distress the Americans as much as possible, and to create them enemies on all sides.

Colonel Brandt goes loaded with presents for himself, and for several chiefs of the tribes bordering on Canada. It would be well for the Americans to know in time, that enemies are raised against them, in order to derange their system of government, and to add to the confusion which already exists in it. The new possessions of England will not only gain what America shall lose, but will acquire strength in proportion to the weakening of the United States.

Sooner or later, the new States which are forming will place themselves under the protection of England, which can always communicate with them through Canada; and which, in case of future necessity, can harass the United States on one side by her shipping, and on the other by her intrigues. This system has not yet come to maturity, but it is unfolded, and we may rely upon the instructions given to Colonel Brandt.

TO COLONEL MONROE.

PARIS, August 11, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 9th of July; and, since that, have received yours of the 16th of

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June, with the interesting intelligence it contained. I was entirely in the dark as to the progress of that negotiation, and concur entirely in the views you have taken of it. The difficulty on which it hangs is a *sine qua non* with us. It would be to deceive them and ourselves, to suppose that an amity can be preserved, while this right is withheld. Such a supposition would argue, not only an ignorance of the people to whom this is most interesting, but an ignorance of the nature of man, or an inattention to it. Those who see but half way into our true interest, will think that that concurs with the views of the other party. But those who see it in all its extent, will be sensible that our true interest will be best promoted, by making all the just claims of our fellow citizens, wherever situated, our own, by urging and enforcing them with the weight of our whole influence, and by exercising in this, as in every other instance, a just government in their concerns, and making common cause even where our separate interest would seem opposed to theirs. No other conduct can attach us together; and on this attachment depends our happiness.

The King of Prussia still lives, and is even said to be better. Europe is very quiet at present. The only germ of dissension, which shows itself at present, is in the quarter of Turkey. The Emperor, the Empress, and the Venetians seem all to be picking at the Turks. It is not probable, however, that either of the two first will do anything to

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bring on an open rupture, while the King of Prussia lives.

You will perceive, by the letters I enclose to Mr. Jay, that Lambe, under the pretext of ill health, declines returning either to Congress, Mr. Adams, or myself. This circumstance makes me fear some malversation. The money appropriated to this object being in Holland, and, having been always under the care of Mr. Adams, it was concerted between us that all the drafts should be on him. I know not, therefore, what sums may have been advanced to Lambe; I hope, however, nothing great. I am persuaded that an angel sent on this business, and so much limited in his terms, could have done nothing. But should Congress propose to try the line of negotiation again, I think they will perceive that Lambe is not a proper agent. I have written to Mr. Adams on the subject of a settlement with Lambe. There is little prospect of accommodation between the Algerines, and the Portuguese and Neapolitans. A very valuable capture, too, lately made by them on the Empress of Russia, bids fair to draw her on them. The probability is, therefore, that these three nations will be at war with them, and the probability is, that could we furnish a couple of frigates, a convention might be formed with those powers establishing a perpetual cruise on the coast of Algiers, which would bring them to reason. Such a convention, being left open to all powers willing to come into it, should have for its

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object a general peace, to be guaranteed to each, by the whole. Were only two or three to begin a confederacy of this kind, I think every power in Europe would soon fall into it, except France, England, and perhaps Spain and Holland. Of these, there is only England, who would give any real aid to the Algerines. Morocco, you perceive, will be at peace with us. Were the honor and advantage of establishing such a confederacy out of the question, yet the necessity that the United States should have some marine force, and the happiness of this, as the ostensible cause for beginning it, would decide on its propriety. It will be said, there is no money in the treasury. There never will be money in the treasury, till the confederacy shows its teeth. The States must see the rod; perhaps it must be felt by some one of them. I am persuaded, all of them would rejoice to see every one obliged to furnish its contributions. It is not the difficulty of furnishing them, which beggars the treasury, but the fear that others will not furnish as much. Every rational citizen must wish to see an effective instrument of coercion, and should fear to see it on any other element than the water. A naval force can never endanger our liberties, nor occasion bloodshed; a land force would do both. It is not in the choice of the States, whether they will pay money to cover their trade against the Algerines. If they obtain a peace by negotiation, they must pay a great sum of money for it; if they do nothing, they must pay a

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great sum of money, in the form of insurance; and in either way, as great a one as in the way of force, and probably less effectual.

I look forward with anxiety to the approaching moment of your departure from Congress. Besides the interest of the confederacy and of the State, I have a personal interest in it. I know not to whom I may venture confidential communications, after you are gone. I take the liberty of placing here my respects to Mrs. Monroe, and assurances of the sincere esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY.

PARIS, August 12, 1786.

GENTLEMEN,—Your favor of May the 9th, came to hand on the 25th of June, I immediately communicated to the foreign officers the inability of the treasury at that moment to provide payment of the interest due them, with assurances of your attention to them on the first possible moment. I communicated to Commodore Jones also your order for the balance in his hands. As he was entitled to a part of the money he had received, and it was reasonable to suppose he must have been living here on that resource, so that he could not be expected to pay the whole sum received, I desired him to state his account against that fund as he thought just himself, to pay me the balance on account, reserving to

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you a full right to discuss the propriety of his charges, and to allow or disallow them as you pleased, so that nothing that passed between us, should either strengthen or weaken his claims. He accordingly rendered me the account which I now enclose, balance 112, 172*l.* 2–4. He desired me at the same time to forward to you the papers, No. 1–12, which will show the objections and difficulties he had to encounter, and which could have been obviated by nobody else. There certainly was no other person whose knowledge of the transactions so well qualified them to negotiate this business, and I do suppose that this fund would have lost some of its capital articles in any other hands. This circumstance, with the real value of this officer, will, I doubt not, have their just influence in settling his claims. There is no doubt but that he has actually expended the money charged to have been expended. Without this supply, Mr. Grand would have been in advance for the United States, according to a rough estimate which I made, 42, 281*l.* 61*s.*, besides 24, 437*l.* 11*s.*, which, on the failure of the federal funds here, and being apprised of Mr. Grand's advances, I had ventured to order him to take from a sum of money lodged in his hands for the State of Virginia for the purchase of arms. This liberty was taken in order that he might honor the draughts of Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Dumas, pay certain foreign officers who had not yet been paid *pari passu* with their brother officers, and answer my demand also. These two

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sums amounting to 66, 719*l.* 7*s.*, were first to be replaced, and left a balance of 45, 452*l.* 15, 8*s.* Though you had proposed to leave this in my hands for the calls of diplomatic establishments in Europe, I ventured to have it paid with the residue of the mass into Mr. Grand's hands, to avoid giving him umbrage and lessening his dispositions to advance hereafter, and also because it would have been very insecure in my house which stands on the outline of the city, separated from all others by a considerable interval, and therefore exposed to robbery. The insurance in this situation would have been worth much more than Mr. Grand's commission on it. From this detail, you will perceive that there remains on hand about enough to answer the demands of the diplomatic establishments in France, Spain, England and Holland for a quarter of a year from this date, which I have instructed Mr. Grand to apply solely to that purpose.

Commodore Jones will set out shortly for Copenhagen to settle the demand against that Court, which done, he will return to America to close the matters which have been confided to him.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and respect, gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO MR. HAWKINS.

PARIS, August 13, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of June the 14th, is come to hand, and I am to thank you for your attention to my queries on the subject of the Indians. I have sent many copies to other correspondents, but as yet have heard nothing from them. I shall proceed, however, in my endeavors, particularly with respect to their language, and shall take care so to dispose of what I collect thereon, as that it shall not be lost. The attention which you pay to their rights, also, does you great honor, as the want of that is a principal source of dishonor to the American character. The two principles on which our conduct towards the Indians should be founded, are justice and fear. After the injuries we have done them, they cannot love us, which leaves us no alternative but that of fear to keep them from attacking us. But justice is what we should never lose sight of, and in time it may recover their esteem. Your attention to one burthen I laid on you, encourages me to remind you of another, which is the sending me some of the seeds of the Dionæa Muscipula, or Venus fly-trap, called also with you, I believe, the Sensitive Plant. This can come folded in a letter. Europe is in a profound calm. The Venetians, Russians and Austrians, indeed, are pecking at the Turks, but I suppose it is only to keep alive pretensions which may authorize the commencement of hostilities when it shall suit

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them. Whether this will be immediately on the death of the King of Prussia, or some time after, cannot be said. That event may be daily expected. It seems as if this Court did not fear a land war, and they are possessed of the best materials of judging. My reason for thinking they do not expect a disturbance of their tranquillity on this Continent is, that their whole attention is bestowed on marine preparations. Their navy is growing, and the practicability of building a seaport is no longer problematical. Cherbourg will certainly be completed; it will be one of the safest and most commodious ports in the world, and will contain the whole navy of France. It will have the advantage over the English ports on the opposite shore, because they leave two openings, which will admit vessels to come in or go out with any wind. This port will enable them in case of a war with England, to invade that country, or to annihilate its commerce, and of course its marine. Probably, too, it will oblige them to keep a standing army of considerable magnitude. We are tolerably certain of establishing peace with the Emperor of Morocco, but Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli will still be hostile. Morocco, however, lying on the Atlantic, was the most important. The Algerines rarely come far into that, and Tunis and Tripoli never. We must consider the Mediterranean as absolutely shut to us till we can open it with money. Whether this will be best expended in buying or forcing a peace is for Congress to determine. I shall be glad often to hear

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from you, and am, with much esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO MR. JAY.

PARIS, August 13, 1786.

SIR,—The enclosed letter from Mr. Barclay, and one from Mr. Carmichael, of which I send you extracts, are come to hand this morning, which is in time for them to go by the same gentleman who carries my letter of the 11th. I observe what Mr. Carmichael says on the subject of the Portuguese treaty, and am sorry it meets with difficulties. I doubt, however, whether he ascribes them to their true cause, when he supposes they are occasioned by M. del Pinto's being of a party opposed to that of their minister at Madrid. The cause is not proportioned to the effect. The treaty between France and England has lately been thought to have become stationary. This is conjectured from the rigor of the custom-houses, much increased by late orders, as also from some other circumstances. The overtures between England and Portugal are animated in proportion, and in the same degree, I suspect that the latter lessens her care about us. If her wines were to become superfluous at the English market, she wished and hoped to find a great one with us open, to receive them. M. del Pinto's courier, which carried the treaty to Falmouth, arrived a few hours too late for the Lisbon packet-boat. This lost a month in the conveyance, and that month, by producing

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new prospects, has been critical. There is not a want of probability that del Pinto himself will succeed the deceased minister in Portugal. This would be favorable to our treaty, and fortunate for us in proportion to the value of a connection with that nation. He is sensible, candid, and has just ideas as to us, and favorable dispositions toward us. I expect that Mr. Adams is at this moment at the Hague, as he intended there to take leave of that Court, and, at the same time, to exchange the ratification of the Prussian treaty. But I send on to London copies of the enclosed, in hopes he will speedily be returned there. I shall propose to him that we consider whether the conduct of the Dey of Algiers leaves any hope that any negotiator whatever could obtain his peace without a prodigious addition to the price we had thought of? If we conclude on the negative, still it will remain to decide whether the expense of Mr. Barclay's going there may not be compensated by additional information, by the possibility that he might find their ultimatum, and the advantage of relieving the mind of Congress from all suspense by possessing them of this ultimatum. The peace of Spain, too, being concluded, it is to be seen whether their interference can weigh as money. It has done so at Morocco. But Algiers is a fiercer power.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO MR. WYTHE.

PARIS, August 13, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of January the 10th and February the 10th, came to hand on the 20th and 23d of May. I availed myself of the first opportunity which occurred, by a gentleman going to England, of sending to Mr. Joddrel a copy of the Notes on our country, with a line informing him, that it was you who had emboldened me to take that liberty. Madison, no doubt, informed you of the reason why I had sent only a single copy to Virginia. Being assured by him, that they will not do the harm I had apprehended, but on the contrary, may do some good, I propose to send thither the copies remaining on hand, which are fewer than I had intended. But, of the numerous corrections they need, there are one or two so essential, that I must have them made, by printing a few new leaves, and substituting them for the old. This will be done while they are engraving a map which I have constructed, of the country from Albemarle sound to Lake Erie, and which will be inserted in the book. A bad French translation which is getting out here, will probably oblige me to publish the original more freely; which it did not deserve, nor did I intend. Your wishes, which are laws to me, will justify my destining a copy for you, otherwise I should as soon have thought of sending you a horn-book; for there is no truth in it which is not familiar to you, and its errors I should hardly have proposed to treat you with.

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Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I wrote to a correspondent at Florence to inquire after the family of Tagliaferro, as you desired. I received his answer two days ago, a copy of which I now enclose. The original shall be sent by some other occasion. I will have the copper-plate immediately engraved. This may be ready within a few days, but the probability is, that I shall be long getting an opportunity of sending it to you, as these rarely occur. You do not mention the size of the plate, but presuming it is intended for labels for the inside of books, I shall have it made of a proper size for that. I shall omit the word *agisos*, according to the license you allow me, because I think the beauty of a motto is, to condense such matter in as few words as possible. The word omitted will be supplied by every reader.

The European papers have announced, that the Assembly of Virginia were occupied on the revisal of their code of laws. This, with some other similar intelligence, has contributed much to convince the people of Europe, that what the English papers are constantly publishing of our anarchy, is false; as they are sensible that such a work is that of a people only, who are in perfect tranquillity. Our act for freedom of religion is extremely applauded. The ambassadors and ministers of the several nations of Europe, resident at this Court, have asked of me copies of it, to send to their sovereigns, and it is inserted at full length in several books now in the press; among others, in the new "Encyclopédie." I think it will pro-

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duce considerable good even in these countries, where ignorance, superstition, poverty, and oppression of body and mind, in every form, are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped. If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work, to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that, as zealously as they now endeavor the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground, on which our common people are now setting out. Ours could not have been so fairly placed under the control of the common sense of the people, had they not been separated from their parent stock, and kept from contamination, either from them, or the other people of the old world, by the intervention of so wide an ocean. To know the worth of this, one must see the want of it here. I think by far the most important bill in our whole code, is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If anybody thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness, send him here. It is the best school in the universe to cure him of that folly. He will see here, with his own eyes, that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved, than in this country particularly, where, notwithstanding the

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finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible; where such a people, I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are loaded with misery, by kings, nobles, and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know, that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose, is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests and nobles, who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance. The people of England, I think, are less oppressed than here. But it needs but half an eye to see, when among them, that the foundation is laid in their dispositions for the establishment of a despotism. Nobility, wealth, and pomp are the objects of their admiration. They are by no means the free-minded people we suppose them in America. Their learned men, too, are few in number, and are less learned, and infinitely less emancipated from prejudice, than those of this country. An event, too, seems to be preparing, in the order of things, which will probably decide the fate of that country. It is no longer doubtful, that the harbor of Cherbourg will be complete, that it will be a most excellent one, and capacious enough to hold the whole navy of France. Nothing has ever been wanting to enable this country

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to invade that, but a naval force conveniently stationed to protect the transports. This change of situation must oblige the English to keep up a great standing army, and there is no King, who, with sufficient force, is not always ready to make himself absolute. My paper warns me it is time to recommend myself to the friendly recollection of Mrs. Wythe, of Colonel Tagliaferro and his family, and particularly of Mr. R. T.; and to assure you of the affectionate esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO DR. FRANKLIN.

PARIS, August 14, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of March 20th, and much satisfaction from it. I had been alarmed with the general cry that our commerce was in distress, and feared it might be for the want of markets. But the high price of commodities shows that markets are not wanting. Is it not yet possible, however, that these high prices may proceed from the smallness of the quantity made, and that from the want of laborers? It would really seem as if we did not make produce enough for home consumption, and, of course, had none superfluous to exchange for foreign articles. The price of wheat, for instance, shows it is not exported, because it could not, at such a price, enter into competition at a foreign market with the wheat of any other nation.

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I send you some packets which have been put into my hands to be forwarded to you. I cannot send your "Encyclopédie" by the same conveyance, because it is by the way of England. Nothing worth reading has come from the press, I think, since you left us. There are one or two things to be published soon, which being on the subject of America, may be grateful to you, and shall be sent.

Europe enjoys a perfect repose at present. Venice and the two empires seem to be pecking at the Turks, but only in such a degree as may keep alive certain pretensions for commencing war when they shall see the occasion fit. Whether this will be immediately on the death of the King of Prussia remains to be seen. That event must happen soon. By the little attention paid by this country to their land army, it would seem as if they did not apprehend a war on that element. But to the increase and arrangement of their navy, they are very attentive. There is no longer a doubt but that the harbor of Cherbourg will be completed, will be a most excellent one, and capable of containing the whole navy of France. By having two outlets, vessels may enter and sally with every wind, while in the opposite ports of England particular winds are necessary. Our peace with Morocco is probably signed by this time. We are indebted for it to the court of Spain. Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, will continue hostile according to present appearances.

Your friends here, within the circle of my acquaint-

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ance, are well, and often enquire after you. No interesting change that I recollect has taken place among them. Houdon has just received the block of marble for General Washington's statue. He is married since his return. Trumbull, our young American painter, is come here to have his Death of Montgomery and Battle of Bunker's Hill engraved. I will beg leave to place here my friendly respects to young Mr. Franklin, and assurances of the esteem and regard with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO COLONEL HUMPHREYS.

PARIS, August 14, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you on the 7th of May, being immediately on my return from England, and have lately received your favor of June 5th, and thank you for the intelligence it contains. Every circumstance we hear induces us to believe that it is the want of will, rather than of ability, to furnish contributions which keeps the public treasury so poor. The Algerines will probably do us the favor to produce a sense of the necessity of a public treasury and a public force on that element where it can never be dangerous. They refused even to speak on the subject of peace. That with Morocco I expect is signed before this time; for which we are much indebted to Spain.

Your friend, Mr. Trumbull, is here at present. He brought his Bunker's Hill and Death of Montgomery

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to have them engraved here. He was yesterday to see the King's collection of painting at Versailles, and confesses it surpasses everything of which he even had an idea. I persuaded him to stay and study here, and then proceed to Rome. Europe is yet quiet, and so will remain probably till the death of the King of Prussia, which is constantly expected. Whether this will be the signal for war or not, is yet to be seen. The two empires and Venice keep alive certain pretensions which may give color to the commencement of hostilities when they shall think the occasion good. This country is much more intent on sea, than on land preparations. Their harbor of Cherbourg will be completed and will hold their whole navy. This is putting the bridle into the mouth of England. The affairs of the United Netherlands have so long threatened civil war, that one ceases almost to believe any appearances. It must be confessed they cannot be stronger. Your friends here are well. La Comptesse d'Houditot asks kindly after you. The public papers continue to say favorable and just things of your poem. A violent criticism of Chastellux's voyages is just appearing. It is not yet to be bought. I am laboring hard with the assistance of M. de La Fayette to get the general commerce of the United States with this country put on a favorable footing, and am not without hopes. The Marquis is gone into Auvergne for the summer. The rest of the *beau monde* are also vanished for the season. We give and receive them you know in

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exchange for the swallows. I shall be happy to hear from you often, and to hear that you are engaged usefully to your country and agreeably to yourself, being with the most real esteem, dear Sir, your sincere friend and servant.

TO M. DE WARVILLE.

PARIS, August 15, 1786.

SIR,—I have read with very great satisfaction the sheets of your work on the commerce of France and the United States, which you were so good as to put into my hands. I think you treat the subject, as far as these sheets go, in an excellent manner. [Were I to select any particular passages as giving me particular satisfaction, it would be those wherein you prove to the United States that they will be more virtuous, more free, and more happy, employed in agriculture, than as carriers or manufacturers. It is a truth, and a precious one for them, if they could be persuaded of it. I am also particularly pleased with your introductions. You have properly observed that we can no longer be called Anglo-Americans. That appellation now describes only the inhabitants of Nova Scotia, Canada, &c. I had applied that of Federo Americans to our citizens, as it would not be so decent for us to assume to ourselves the flattering appellation of free Americans. There are two passages in this work on which I am able to give information. The first is in page 62; "ils auront le caton

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quand ils voudront se leiver à cegenre de culturè," and the note "l'on voit dans la Eaie de Massachusetts." The four southernmost States make a great deal of cotton. Their poor are almost entirely clothed in it in winter and summer. In winter they wear shirts of it, and outer clothing of cotton and wool mixed. In summer their shirts are linen, but the outer clothing cotton. The dress of the women is almost entirely of cotton manufactured by themselves, except the richer class, and even many of these wear a good deal of home-spun cotton. It is as well manufactured as the calicoes of Europe. Those four States furnish a great deal of cotton to the States north of them, who cannot make it, as being too cold. There is no neighborhood in any part of the United States without a water-grist mill for grinding the corn of the neighborhood. Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, abound with large manufacturing mills for the exportation of flour. There are abundance of saw-mills in all the States. Furnaces and forges of iron, I believe, in every State, I know they are in the nine northernmost. There are many mills for plating and slitting iron. And I think there are many distilleries of rum from Norfolk, in Virginia, to Portsmouth, in New Hampshire. I mention these circumstances because your note seems to imply that these things are only in the particular States you mention.

The second passage is pages 101 and 102, where

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you speak of the "ravages causés par l' abus des eaux de vie," which seems, by the note in page 101, to be taken on authority of Smith. Nothing can be less true than what that author says on this subject; and we may say in general that there are as many falsehoods as facts in his work. I think drunkenness is much more common in all the American States than in France. But it is less common there than in England. You may form an idea from this of the state of it in America. Smith saw everything through the medium of strong prejudice. Besides this, he does not hesitate to write palpable lies, which he was conscious were such. When you proceed to form your table of American exports and imports, I make no doubt you will consult the American Traveller, the estimates in which are nearer the truth than those of Lord Sheffield and Deane, as far as my knowledge of the facts enables me to judge. I must beg your pardon for having so long detained these sheets. I did not finish my American despatches till the night before last, and was obliged yesterday to go to Versailles. I have the honor to be, with very great respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO BARON BLOME.

PARIS, August 18, 1786.

SIR,—Dr. Franklin, during his residence at this court, was instructed by Congress to apply to the

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court of Denmark for a compensation for certain vessels and cargoes taken from the English during the late war by the American squadron under the command of Commodore Paul Jones, carried into a port of Denmark, and by order of the court of Denmark, re-delivered to the English. Dr. Franklin made the application through the Baron de Waltersdorff, at that time charged with other matters relative to the two countries of Denmark and the United States of America. Baron de Waltersdorff, after having written to his court, informed Dr. Franklin that he was authorized to offer a compensation of ten thousand guineas. This was declined, because it was thought that the value of the prizes was the true measure of compensation, and that that ought to be inquired into. Baron de Waltersdorff left this court some time after, on a visit only, as he expected, to Copenhagen, and the matter was suffered to rest till his return. This was constantly expected till you did me the honor of informing me that he had received another destination. It being now, therefore, necessary to renew our application, it is thought better that Commodore Paul Jones should repair in person to Copenhagen. His knowledge of the whole transaction will best enable him to represent it to that Court, and the world has had too many proofs of the justice and magnanimity of his Danish majesty, to leave a doubt that he will order full justice to be done to those brave men who saw themselves deprived of the spoils, won by their gallantry, and

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at the hazard of their lives, and on whose behalf the justice and generosity of his majesty is now reclaimed.

I am now, Sir, to ask the favor of you to communicate this application to your court, to inform them that Commodore Paul Jones, who will present himself to them, is authorized to solicit and arrange this matter, and to ask your good offices with his Majesty and his ministers, so that the representations of Mr. Jones may find their way to them, which we are assured is all that is necessary to obtain justice.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. M'CARTY.

PARIS, August 19, 1786.

SIR,—On the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant, I called on one of the Farmers General, who is of my acquaintance, and asked of him explanations of the reasons for the low prices offered for tobacco. He said they considered themselves as bound to purchase the quantities as directed by the order of Berny, and at the prices therein ordered, which quantities they apportioned among the ports according to their wants, allotting certain quantities to be bought weekly or monthly. That when greater quantities offered, they thought themselves at liberty to buy them at a lower price, if the holder would take it—

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that this was done by a previous contract. I gave him an extract of the letter, and he promised to inquire into it, and to use his influence that justice should be done you.

If you made an express contract for the prices you mention, without doubt you will be held to them. If you did not make a contract, I think it is as certain you will be entitled to the prices fixed by the government. Should they refuse justice, I am told you may have redress by application to a court on the spot, or to a tribunal at Paris, which takes cognizance of whatever relates to the farmers. But I believe, also, that the committee who proposed this regulation, are authorized to take cognizance of all infractions of it. As soon as I obtain an answer from the Farmers General, I will do myself the pleasure of communicating it to you. I am, with much respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MR. CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, August 22, 1786.

SIR,—Your favors of June 16th, July 15th, 18th and 31st, I have the honor now to acknowledge. I have been for a month past so closely employed, that it has been out of my power to do myself the pleasure sooner of writing to you on the several subjects they contain. I formerly wrote you the reason why Mr. Grand has not paid your bills; that is to say, the want of a letter of advice. As to the notary's calling

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on me as inserted in the protest, I do not remember that he did. Persons calling on me with demands on account of the United States, I generally refer to Mr. Grand, with information that I have nothing to do with the moneys of the United States. Mr. Grand, by refusing to make payments without my order in many cases, has obliged me to interfere till I could obtain instructions to him from the treasury as to the manner in which he should govern himself. With respect to your bill, I am thoroughly satisfied he had no reason for not paying it but the want of a letter of advice. Had there been one, I would have ordered the payment; but this being a caution required between private individuals, it was less to be dispensed with in the case of the public. I believe I may venture to assure you, that if you will always write a letter of advice with your bills, they will always be honored. If the mode of doing business at Madrid would admit their being drawn at so many days' sight, it would be better, because it would allow time to consult you, if the letter of advice is miscarried.

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The first notice of them has been the demand of payment. However, this is not essential, nor anything else except the letter of advice—not even the having money in our funds here, for this sometimes happens. I had your last bills, those of Mr. Dumas, and some other federal demands, paid out of a sum of money lodged here by the State of Virginia for the

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purchase of arms. However, we have at present three months' supplies on hand. I am to thank you for the map which I received of Mr. Randall. Mr. Barclay has sent from Cadiz some of the books purchased there. Should you at any time meet with any of the others named in my catalogue, at reasonable prices, I will thank you to think of me. I paid Mr. Barclay's draught for those coming from Cadiz, and will answer yours, or find means of remitting the money to you for the map and such other books as you may be so good as to purchase for me. I return you, according to your desire, O'Bryan's letter, having sent copies of that and other papers you have forwarded me from time to time, as also an extract from your own letters on the Barclay affairs to Congress, and to Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams left London about the 3d or 4th instant, for the Hague, to exchange ratifications of our treaty with Prussia with the Baron de Thulemeyer, and also to take leave of their high-mightinesses, which he had not done before. I suppose that by this time he is returned to London. It is inconceivable to me what difficulties can have arisen on our treaty with Portugal. However, the delay of the signature indicates that there are such. You intimate the expediency of the mutual appointment of consuls between Denmark and us. But our particular constitution occasions a difficulty. You know that a consul is the creature of a convention altogether,—that without this he must be unknown, and his jurisdiction un-

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acknowledged by the laws of the country in which he is placed. The will of the Sovereign in most countries can give a jurisdiction by a simple order. With us, the confederation admitting Congress to make treaties with foreign powers, they can by treaty or convention provide for the admission and jurisdiction of consuls and the confederation, and whatever is done under it, being paramount to the laws of the States, this establishes the power of the consuls. But without a convention, the laws of the States cannot take any notice of a consul, nor permit him to exercise any jurisdiction. In the case of Temple, the consul from England, therefore, Congress could only say he should have such power as the law of nations, and the laws of the States admitted. But none of the States having passed laws but for nations in alliance with us, Temple can exercise no jurisdiction nor authority. You ask in what state is our treaty with Naples? Congress gave powers to Mr. A., Dr. F. and myself, to form treaties of alliance and commerce with every nation in Europe with whom it could be supposed we should have an intercourse of any sort. These powers were to continue two years. We offered to treat with all nations. Prussia made a treaty with us. Portugal we expect does the same. Tuscany exchanged propositions backwards and forwards with us, but before they could be completed, our powers expired. The Emperor somewhat the same. But all other nations made professions of friendship, and said they supposed a commerce

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could be carried on without a treaty. Spain, you know, treats at New York. At present, therefore, we stand thus: France, the United Netherlands, Sweden and Prussia, are connected by treaty. Spain and Portugal will probably be so. Perhaps the powers may be renewed for the Emperor and Tuscany. But as to every other nation of Europe, I am persuaded Congress will never offer a treaty. If any of them should desire one hereafter, I suppose they will make the first overtures. In fact, the exclusion of our vessels from the English and Spanish American possessions in America, and the modified reception of them in the French islands, may render regulations on our part necessary, which might be embarrassed by a multiplication of treaties with other nations. I think, therefore, that at present Congress would not wish to make any other treaties than those actually in agitation with Spain and Portugal. A Commercial Congress is to meet to prepare an article defining the extent of the powers over commerce which it may be expedient to give to the United States in Congress assembled. Every State has appointed deputies to meet for this purpose, except Maryland, which declined it because they thought the established Congress might propose an article. It is thought they will still appoint, but that at any rate they will accede to what shall be done. Congress, being once invested with these powers, will be the less embarrassed in the system in proportion as their hands are less tied up by engage-

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ments with other powers. While Mr. A., Dr. F. and myself were here together, it was made a question whether we should send agents to the Barbary powers, or receive their agents here. As these would expect to be supported, we thought the former the more economical plan. An agent from Algiers to Madrid must have great presents, and be pompously supported. This induced us to send Mr. Lambe to Algiers. The possibility that mal-adroitness in him may leave something yet practicable by Mr. Barclay, may perhaps occasion a mission of this latter gentleman to Algiers. On this, I expect to hear from Mr. Adams as soon as he returns from the Hague. As to myself, I confess I expect nothing from Algiers, were we to send an angel, without more money than we are authorized to give them. We desired Mr. Lambe to repair to Congress, that he might, by his information, aid them in their decisions. He answers us by resigning his commission, saying that his health will not permit him either to go to Congress or to come to us; yet he desires we will settle his accounts. It would seem, then, as if he meant to live at Alicant, Carthagena, or somewhere there. Certainly we cannot go to him. If he has still money in your banker's hands belonging to the United States, and you judge from any circumstances that it ought to be stopped, be so good as to write us on the subject, and in the meantime to stop it. You observe, that I do not write to you on foreign subjects. My reason has been, that our letters are often opened; and I do not

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know that you have yet received the cypher Mr. Barclay was to leave with you. If you have not, be so good as to ask a copy of his, which being already in the hands of Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and myself, will enable you to write in cypher to any of us. Indeed, I wish you could get the one from Mr. Lambe, which is a copy. I have seen the Chevalier de Burgoyne two or three times, and was much pleased with him. He expressed great friendship for you. I have not yet seen Mr. Calver, but shall surely pay all the attention I can to him, as well as to any other person you may be so kind as to recommend. My letters and papers from America come down to the last week in June. They inform me that treaties are concluded with most of the Indian nations within our boundaries, that lands are purchased of them, and Hutchins, the surveyor for the United States, gone out to lay them off. Straggling Indians, however, still molest our settlements. But it is neither in the general disposition, nor in the power of those tribes to do us any serious ill. All the States have agreed to the impost. But New York has annexed such conditions as that it cannot be accepted. It is thought, therefore, they will grant it unconditionally. But a new difficulty has started up. Three or four States had coupled the grant of the impost with the grant of the supplementary funds, asked by Congress at the same time, declaring that they should come into force only when all the States had granted both. One of these, Pennsylvania, refuses to let the impost

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. . . me. We are still to see whether . . . this. I enclose you a copy of the . . . in Assembly for religious freedom . . . translated here into French and Italian . . . of the revised code of the laws . . . which their Assembly began to pass . . . on, and will finish at their next. . . . a reformation of their . . . of their whole code. I send you . . . of the "Encyclopédie," which came out two or three days ago. They have printed some copies of this . . .

. . . but there . . . Tilghman . . . of the . . . of Rhode Island, and S. Huntington of Massachusetts. I observe that S. Adams is not re-elected president of the Senate of Massachusetts. I know . . . reason of this. Recollecting nothing else, and having sufficiently fatigued you already, I . . . conclude with assurances of the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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come into being alone. We are still to see whether they will persist in this. I enclose you a copy of an act of the Virginia Assembly for religious freedom, which I had translated here into French and Italian. It is one chapter only of the revised code of the laws of that State, which their Assembly began to pass at their last session, and will finish at their next. Pennsylvania is proposing a reformation of their criminal laws; New York of their whole code. I send you also the article "Etats Unis" of the "Encyclopédie Methodique," which came out two or three days ago only. They have printed some copies of this article by itself. The two first sections you will find bad: in the others are several errors; but there are a great number of details made on authentic materials, and to be relied on. Remarkable deaths in America are General Cadwallader, Colonel Tilghman (Tench), General McDougal, and Mrs. Wilson, wife of the member of Congress. Mr. Telfair is Governor of Georgia, Collins of Rhode Island, and S. Huntington of Massachusetts. I observe that S. Adams is not re-elected president of the Senate of Massachusetts. I know not the reason of this. Recollecting nothing else material, and having sufficiently fatigued you already, I shall conclude with assurances of the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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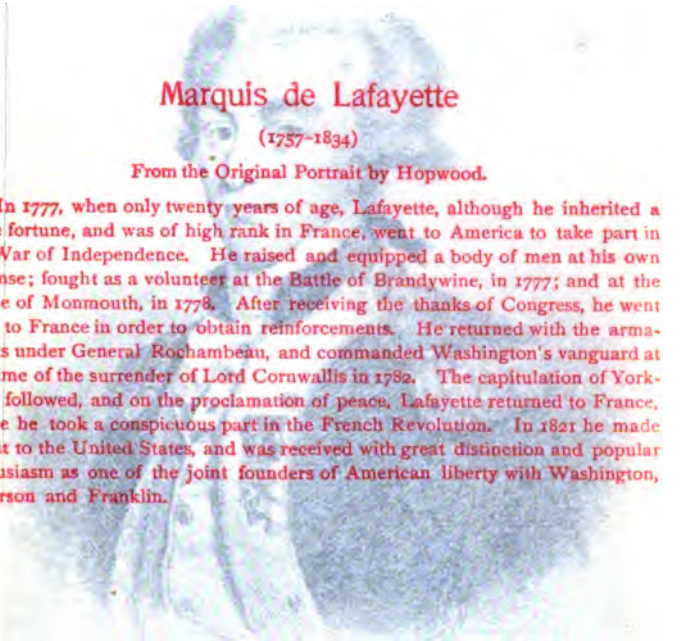

Marquis de Lafayette

(1757–1834)

From the Original Portrait by Hopwood.

In 1777, when only twenty years of age, Lafayette, although he inherited a large fortune, and was of high rank in France, went to America to take part in the War of Independence. He raised and equipped a body of men at his own expense; fought as a volunteer at the Battle of Brandywine, in 1777; and at the Battle of Monmouth, in 1778. After receiving the thanks of Congress, he went back to France in order to obtain reinforcements. He returned with the armaments under General Rochambeau, and commanded Washington's vanguard at the time of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis in 1782. The capitulation of Yorktown followed, and on the proclamation of peace, Lafayette returned to France, where he took a conspicuous part in the French Revolution. In 1821 he made a visit to the United States, and was received with great distinction and popular enthusiasm as one of the joint founders of American liberty with Washington, Jefferson and Franklin.

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TO M. DE LA FAYETTE.

PARIS, August 24, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your other friends here being so much better qualified to give you the transactions of the metropolis during your absence, it would be presumption in me to touch on them. I assume, therefore, the office of your correspondent for American affairs, in the discharge of which, I may stand a chance to communicate to you details which you cannot get in the ordinary course of your correspondence, and which the interest you are so good as to take in our affairs will sometimes render agreeable to you. My letters and papers from America came down to the 16th of July. The impost then wanted the accession of New York only, but another difficulty had started up. Three or four of the States had coupled together the impost and the supplementary funds, so that neither could take place till all the States had granted both. Pennsylvania was of this number, and though desired by Congress to suffer the impost to be established unconnected with the supplementary funds, they have refused, saying, that should the interest of the foreign debt get into a course of regular payment, separately from that of the domestic one, the other States will be the less ready to provide for the latter. Some of the other States have hereupon provided the supplementary funds. It remians to see whether it will be easiest to get all the States to do this, or to prevail on Penn-

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sylvania to recede. All the States have come into the Virginia proposition for a commercial convention, the deputies of which are to agree on the form of an article giving to Congress the regulation of their commerce. Maryland alone has not named deputies, conceiving that Congress might as well propose the article. They are, however, for giving the power, and will, therefore, either nominate deputies to the convention, or accede to their measures. Massachusetts and New Hampshire have suspended their navigation acts. The English encroachments on the province of Maine become serious. They have seized vessels, too, on our coast of Passimaquaddy, thereby displaying a pretension to the exclusive jurisdiction to the Bay of Fundi, which separates Nova Scotia and Le Maine, and belongs as much to us as them. The Spaniards have not yet relinquished the fort of the Natches, and our arrangements with them hang on a great obstacle, indispensable with us, and of which they are unjustly and unwisely tenacious. The Indians, both Northern and Southern, have made peace, except the Creeks, who have made a formidable attack on Georgia. Scattering parties of the Northern Indians, too, have killed some persons in Kentucky. They are unacknowledged, however, by their nations. I observe that Samuel Adams is not re-elected President of the Senate. I cannot conjecture the reason of this. General Sullivan is made President of New Hampshire, Generals Green, McDougal, and Williamson are dead. There have

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been, for some time, twelve States present in Congress. By a letter from Mr. Barclay, of July 16, I expect our peace with Morocco is signed. For this we are indebted to the honest offices of Spain. Your letter to some friend in Boston, enclosing M. de Calonne's of November 19, 1785, on the subject of whale oils, is printed at length in our papers. Your name is to it, but not that of the person to whom addressed, nor any date. It will do you just service there: the only question is whether it may not disarm you here. I have as yet not heard a tittle from M. de Calonnes on the subject of our commerce. I have received from you, from London, Andrew's history of the war, and Cooper's travels. McIntosh's is not to be bought, the whole edition being exhausted. Our Madeira will be in Paris to-day or to-morrow. I shall be able to have a small copying press completed for you here in about three weeks. Must it wait your return, or will you have it sent to you? Adhering to my promise of saying nothing to you of what I know so imperfectly as the affairs of this country, I shall conclude with assurances of the sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO M. VAN HOGENDORP.

PARIS, August 25, 1786.

SIR,—Your favor of the 2d instant has been duly received, and I employ the first moment which has

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been at my disposal to answer it. The author of the part of the new "Encyclopédie" which relates to political economy, having asked of me materials for the article "Etat Unis," stating à number of questions relative to them, I answered them as minutely and exactly as was in my power. He has from these compiled the greater part of that article. I take the liberty of enclosing you one of them, which will give you all the details to which your letter refers. I can even refer you to the pages which answer your several questions.

What is the extent of the Congress power in managing the affairs of the United States?

The 6th and 9th articles of the confederation will explain these. Those which it is thought they still need, you will find indicated in this pamphlet, pages 29, 30, and in 31–6, their powers of coercion.

Ques.—What are the expenses of Congress?

Ans.—Page 31–6, and 43–6.

Ques.—Which the revenue?

Ans.—As yet they have no standing revenue; they have asked standing revenues as they shall be noted under a subsequent question. In the meantime they call annually for the sums necessary for the federal government. See pages 43, 44.

Ques.—In which way does the particular State contribute to the general expenses?

Ans.—Congress, once a year, calculate the sum necessary the succeeding year to pay the interest of their debt and to defray the expenses of the federal

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government. This sum they then apportion on the several States according to the table page 44. And the States then raise each its part by such taxes as they think proper.

Ques.—Are general duties, to be levied by Congress, still expected to be acquiesced to by the States?

Ans.—See page 30, a. New York, the only State which had not granted the impost of 5 per cent., has done it at a late session, but has reserved to herself the appointment of collectors. Congress will not receive it upon that condition. It is believed that New York will recede from this condition. Still, a difficulty will remain; the impost of 5 per cent. not being deemed sufficient to pay the interest of our whole debt, foreign and domestic. Congress asked at the same time (that is in 1783), supplementary funds to make good the deficiency. Several of the States have not yet provided those supplementary funds. Some of those which have provided them, have declared that the impost and the supplementary fund shall commence only when all the States have granted both. Congress have desired those States to uncouple the grants, so that each may come into force separately as soon as it is given by all the States. Pennsylvania has declared this way, that if the impost be granted alone, as that will do little more than pay the interest of the foreign debt, the other States will be less urgent to provide for the interest of the domestic debt. She wishes, therefore, to avail herself of the general desire to provide for the

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foreign creditors in order to enforce a just attention to the domestic ones. The question is whether it will be more easy to prevail on Pennsylvania to recede from this condition, or the other States to comply with it. The treaties with the Indians have experienced greater delay than was expected. They are, however, completed, and the surveyors are gone into that country to lay out the land in lots. As soon as some progress is made in this, the sale of lands will commence, and I have a firm faith that they will, in a short time absorb the whole of the certificates of the domestic debt.

The Philadelphia Bank was incorporated by Congress. This is, perhaps, the only instance of their having done that which they had no power to do. Necessity obliged them to give this institution the appearance of their countenance, because in that moment they were without any other resource for money. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, however, passed an act of incorporation for the bank, and declared that the holders of stock should be responsible only to the amount of their stock. Lately that Legislature has repealed their act. The consequence is, that the bank is now altogether a private institution, and every holder is liable for its engagements in his whole property. This has had a curious effect. It has given those who deposit money in the bank a greater faith in it, while it has rendered the holders very discontented, as being more exposed to risk, and has induced many to sell out, so that I have heard (I

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know not how truly) that bank stock sells somewhat below par; it has been said 7 1-2 per cent.; but as the publication was from the enemies of the bank, I do not give implicit faith to it. With respect to the article, "Etats Unis" of the "Encyclopédie" now enclosed, I am far from making myself responsible for the whole of the article. The two first sections are taken chiefly from the Abbé Raynal, and they are therefore wrong exactly in the same proportion the other sections are generally right. Even in them, however, there is here and there an error. But, on the whole, it is good, and the only thing as yet printed which gives a just idea of the American constitutions. There will be another good work, a very good one, published here soon, by a Mr. Mazzei, who has been many years a resident of Virginia, is well informed and possessed of a masculine understanding. I should rather have said it will be published in Holland, for I believe it cannot be printed here. I should be happy indeed in an opportunity of visiting Holland, but I know not when it will occur. In the meantime, it would give me great pleasure to see you here. I think you would find both pleasure and use in such a trip. I feel a sincere interest in the fall of your country, and am disposed to wish well to either party only as I can see in their measures a tendency to bring on an amelioration of the condition of the people; an increase in the mass of happiness. But this is a subject for conversation. My paper warns me that it is time to assure you of the esteem and

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respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MR. BARCLAY.

PARIS, September 22, 1786.

SIR,—I was honored a few days ago with the receipt of your letter of August 11th. In my last to you, I informed you that I had proposed to Mr. Adams to avail ourselves of your service at Algiers. I acknowledge that I had no expectation, with our small means, you could effect a treaty there; but I thought their ultimatum might be discovered, and other intelligence obtained which might repay us the trouble and expense of the journey. I wished, also, to know what might be the effect of the interposition of the court of Madrid, now that it is likely to interpose. A letter recently received from Mr. Carmichael informs me, that it is the opinion of the Counts de Florida Blanca and D'Expilly, that nothing can be effected at Algiers till there be a previous treaty with the Ottoman Porte. Independently of that information, Mr. Adams is of opinion, that no good can result at present from a further attempt at Algiers. The Porte, Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli must remain for the further deliberation of Congress. Of course, we have no occasion to trouble you with any further visits to those powers, and leave you at liberty to return here, to London, or to America, as you shall think

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proper. We are happy that your successful efforts with the Emperor of Morocco have left the Atlantic open to our commerce, and little dangerous.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Barclay and family are well, and am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, your very humble servant.

TO MR. ADAMS.

PARIS, September 26, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—My last letter to you was dated the 27th of August, since which I have received yours of September 11th. The letter to Mr. Lambe therein enclosed, I immediately signed and forwarded. In mine, wherein I had the honor of proposing to you the mission of Mr. Barclay to Algiers, I mentioned that my expectations from it were of a subordinate nature only. I very readily, therefore, recede from it in compliance with your judgment—that his mission might do more harm than good. I accordingly wrote to Mr. Barclay, that he was at liberty to return to this place, to London, or to America, as he should think best. I now enclose you copies of such letters from him, Mr. Lambe and Mr. Carmichael, as have come to hand since my last to you. I have had opportunities of making further inquiry as to the premium of insurance at L'Orient for vessels bound to or from America, and I find that no additional pre-

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mium is there required on account of the risk of capture by the Barbary States. This fact may be worth mentioning to American merchants in London.

We have been continually endeavoring to obtain a deduction of the duties on American whale oil. The prospect was not flattering. I shall avail myself of the information contained in your letter to press this matter further. Mr. Barrett has arrived here, and the first object for his relief, is to obtain a dissolution of his former contract. I will thank you for some copies of the Prussian treaty by the first opportunity, and take the liberty of troubling you to forward the packet of letters which Mr. Smith, the bearer of this, will have the honor of delivering to you. I beg the favor of you to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Adams, and to be assured yourself of the sentiments of sincere esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient, and humble servant.

TO MR. JAY.

PARIS, September 26, 1786.

SIR,—The last letters I had the honor of writing you were of the 11th and 13th of August. Since that, I have been favored with yours of July 14th, and August the 13th. I now enclose you such letters on the Barclay negotiations as have come

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to hand since my last. With these, is the copy of a joint letter from Mr. Adams and myself to Mr. Lambe. In mine of August 13th, I mentioned that I had proposed it as a subject of consideration to Mr. Adams, whether the mission of Mr. Barclay to Algiers might answer any good purpose. He is of opinion that it could not. I have, therefore, informed Mr. Barclay, who by this time, is probably in Spain, that he is at liberty to return to this place, to London or America, as he shall think proper. You will perceive by the letter from Mr. Carmichael that it is the opinion of the Counts de Florida Blanca and D'Expilly, that a treaty with the Ottoman Porte is necessary before one can be made with Algiers. Such a treaty will require presents, not indeed as the price of the peace, but such as are usually made in compliment to their ministers. But as it would be ineffectual towards opening to us the Mediterranean until a peace with Algiers can be obtained, there seems to be no reason for pressing it till there is a prospect of settlement with the Algerines.

Since the death of the King of Prussia, the symptoms of war between the Porte and the Russians and Venetians have become stronger. I think it is the opinion of this court, however, that there will be no war shortly on the Continent. I judge this as well from other information as from the circumstance of a late reduction of their land force. All their military preparations seems to be

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against a naval war. Nevertheless, their treaty with England has lately taken a sudden start. Declarations have been exchanged between the negotiators in the nature of preliminaries to a definitive treaty. The particulars of these declarations are not yet certainly known.

I was lately asked by the Imperial ambassador whether I had received an answer on the subject of the proposition to our powers to treat with his sovereign. A discrimination which they understand to have been made in America between the subjects of powers having treaties with us and those having none, seems to be the motive of their pressing this matter.

It being known that M. de Calonne, the Minister of Finance, is at his wits' end to raise supplies for the ensuing year, a proposition has been made him by a Dutch company to purchase the debt of the United States to this country for seventy millions of livres in hand. His necessities dispose him to accede to the proposition; but a hesitation is produced by the apprehension, that it might lessen our credit in Europe, and perhaps be disagreeable to Congress. I have been consulted here only by the agent for that company. I informed him that I could not judge what effect it might have on our credit, and was not authorized either to approve or disapprove of the transaction. I have since reflected on this subject. If there be a danger that our payments may not be punctual, it might be

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better that the discontents which would thence arise should be transferred from a court, of whose good will we have so much need, to the breasts of a private company. But it has occurred to me, that we might find occasion to do what would be grateful to this court, and establish with them a confidence in our honor. I am informed that our credit in Holland is sound. Might it not be possible, then, to borrow the four-and-twenty millions due to this country, and thus pay them their whole debt at once? This would save them from any loss on our account. Is it liable to the objection of impropriety in creating new debts before we have more certain means of paying them? It is only transferring from one creditor to another, and removing the causes of discontent to persons with whom they would do us less injury. Thinking that this matter is worthy of the attention of Congress, I will endeavor that the negotiation shall be retarded till it may be possible for me to know their decision, which, therefore, I will take the liberty of praying immediately.

You will have heard, before this comes to hand, that the parties in the United Netherlands have come to an open rupture. How far it will proceed, cannot now be foreseen. I send you herewith the gazettes of France and Leyden to this date, and have the honor of being, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

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TO THE PREVOT DES MARCHANDS ET ECHEVINS DE PARIS.

PARIS, September 27, 1786.

GENTLEMEN,—The commonwealth of Virginia, in gratitude for the services of Major General the Marquis de La Fayette, have determined to erect his bust in their capital. Desirous to place a like monument of his worth, and of their sense of it, in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, they have hoped that the city of Paris will consent to become the depository of this second testimony of their gratitude. Being charged by them with the execution of their wishes, I have the honor to solicit of Messieurs le Prevot des Marchands et Echevins, on behalf of the city, their acceptance of a bust of this gallant officer, and that they will be pleased to place it where, doing most honor to him, it will most gratify the feelings of an allied nation.

It is with true pleasure that I obey the call of that commonwealth, to render just homage to a character so great in its first developments, that they would honor the close of any other. Their country, covered by a small army against a great one, their exhausted means supplied by his talents, their enemies finally forced to that spot whither their allies and confederates were collecting to receive them, and a war which had spread its miseries into the four quarters of the earth, thus reduced to a single point, where one blow should terminate it,

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and through the whole, an implicit respect paid to the laws of the land; these are facts which would illustrate any character, and which fully justify the warmth of those feelings, of which I have the honor on this occasion to be the organ.

It would have been more pleasing to me to have executed this office in person, to have mingled the tribute of private gratitude with that of my country, and, at the same time, to have had an opportunity of presenting to your honorable body, the homage of that profound respect which I have the honor to bear them. But I am withheld from these grateful duties by the consequences of a fall, which confine me to my room. Mr. Short, therefore, a citizen of the State of Virginia, and heretofore a member of its Council of State, will have the honor of delivering you this letter, together with the resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia. He will have that, also, of presenting the bust at such time and place, as you will be so good as to signify your pleasure to receive it. Through him, I beg to be allowed the honor of presenting those sentiments of profound respect and veneration, with which I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO BARON DE STAEL.

SIR,—I have the honor of communicating to your Excellency the copy of a treaty of amity and com-

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merce concluded between the United States of America and his late Majesty the King of Prussia, in the two languages in which it was written, each of which was agreed to be equally original. The exchange of ratifications we made but little before the death of the King. This circumstance, with the delays which have attended the printing and transmitting the copies of the treaty to me, have prevented my making an earlier communication of it to your Excellency, as a mark of the confidence and the respect we bear to the nation whom you so worthily represent here, and with which we have the honor of being allied.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO MRS. COSWAY.

PARIS, October 12, 1786.

MY DEAR MADAM,—Having performed the last sad office of handing you into your carriage, at the pavillon de St. Denis, and seen the wheels get actually into motion, I turned on my heel and walked, more dead than alive, to the opposite door, where my own was awaiting me. Mr. Danquerville was missing. He was sought for, found, and dragged down stairs. We were crammed into the carriage, like recruits for the Bastille, and not having soul enough to give orders to the coachman,

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he presumed Paris our destination, and drove off. After a considerable interval, silence was broke, with a "*Je suis vraiment affligé du départ de ces bons gens.*" This was a signal for a mutual confession of distress. We began immediately to talk of Mr. and Mrs. Cosway, of their goodness, their talents, their amiability; and, though we spoke of nothing else, we seemed hardly to have entered into the matter, when the coachman announced the rue St. Denis, and that we were opposite Mr. Danquerville's. He insisted on descending there, and traversing a short passage to his lodgings. I was carried home. Seated by my fireside, solitary and sad, the following dialogue took place between my Head and my Heart.

Head. Well, friend, you seem to be in a pretty trim.

Heart. I am indeed the most wretched of all earthly beings. Overwhelmed with grief, every fibre of my frame distended beyond its natural powers to bear, I would willingly meet whatever catastrophe should leave me no more to feel, or to fear.

Head. These are the eternal consequences of your warmth and precipitation. This is one of the scrapes into which you are ever leading us. You confess your follies, indeed; but still you hug and cherish them; and no reformation can be hoped where there is no repentance.

Heart. Oh, my friend! this is no moment to upbraid my foibles. I am rent into fragments by

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the force of my grief! If you have any balm, pour it into my wounds; if none, do not harrow them by new torments. Spare me in this awful moment! At any other, I will attend with patience to your admonitions.

Head. On the contrary, I never found that the moment of triumph, with you, was the moment of attention to my admonitions. While suffering under your follies, you may perhaps be made sensible of them, but the paroxysm over, you fancy it can never return. Harsh, therefore, as the medicine may be, it is my office to administer it. You will be pleased to remember, that when our friend Trumbull used to be telling us of the merits and talents of these good people, I never ceased whispering to you that we had no occasion for new acquaintances; that the greater their merits and talents, the more dangerous their friendship to our tranquillity, because the regret at parting would be greater.

Heart. Accordingly, Sir, this acquaintance was not the consequence of my doings. It was one of your projects, which threw us in the way of it. It was you, remember, and not I, who desired the meeting at Legrand and Motinos. I never trouble myself with domes nor arches. The Halle aux Bleds might have rotted down, before I should have gone to see it. But you, forsooth, who are eternally getting us to sleep with your diagrams and crotchets, must go and examine this wonderful piece of archi-

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tecture; and when you had seen it, oh! it was the most superb thing on earth! What you had seen there was worth all you had yet seen in Paris! I thought so, too. But I meant it of the lady and gentleman to whom we had been presented; and not of a parcel of sticks and chips put together in pens. You, then, Sir, and not I, have been the cause of the present distress.

Head. It would have been happy for you if my diagrams and crotchets had gotten you to sleep on that day, as you are pleased to say they eternally do. My visit to Legrand and Motinos had public utility for its object. A market is to be built in Richmond. What a commodious plan is that of Legrand and Motinos; especially, if we put on it the noble dome of the Halle aux Bleds. If such a bridge as they showed us can be thrown across the Schuylkill, at Philadelphia, the floating bridges taken up, and the navigation of that river opened, what a copious resource will be added, of wood and provisions, to warm and feed the poor of that city? While I was occupied with these objects, you were dilating with your new acquaintances, and contriving how to prevent a separation from them. Every soul of you had an engagement for the day. Yet all these were to be sacrificed, that you might dine together. Lying messengers were to be despatched into every quarter of the city, with apologies for your breach of engagement. You, particularly, had the effrontery to send word to the Duchess

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Danville, that on the moment we were setting out to dine with her, despatches came to hand, which required immediate attention. You wanted me to invent a more ingenious excuse; but I knew you were getting into a scrape, and I would have nothing to do with it. Well; after dinner to St. Cloud, from St. Cloud to Ruggieri's, from Ruggieri's to Krumfoltz; and if the day had been as long as a Lapland summer day, you would still have contrived means among you to have filled it.

Heart. Oh! my dear friend, how you have revived me by recalling to my mind the transactions of that day! How well I remember them all, and that, when I came home at night, and looked back to the morning, it seemed to have been a month agone. Go on, then, like a kind comforter, and paint to me the day we went to St. Germains. How beautiful was every object! the Port de Reuilly, the hills along the Seine, the rainbows of the machine of Marly, the terrace of St. Germains, the chateaux, the gardens, the statues of Marly, the pavillon of Lucienne. Recollect, too, Madrid, Bagatelle, the King's garden, the Dessert. How grand the idea excited by the remains of such a column. The spiral staircase, too, was beautiful. Every moment was filled with something agreeable. The wheels of time moved on with a rapidity, of which those of our carriage gave but a faint idea. And yet, in the evening, when one took a retrospect of the day, what a mass of happiness had we travelled over!

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Retrace all those scenes to me, my good companion, and I will forgive the unkindness with which you were chiding me. The day we went to St. Germains was a little too warm, I think; was it not?

Head. Thou art the most incorrigible of all the beings that ever sinned! I reminded you of the follies of the first day, intending to deduce from thence some useful lessons for you; but instead of listening to them, you kindle at the recollection, you retrace the whole series with a fondness, which shows you want nothing, but the opportunity, to act it over again. I often told you, during its course, that you were imprudently engaging your affections, under circumstances that must have cost you a great deal of pain; that the persons, indeed, were of the greatest merit, possessing good sense, good humor, honest hearts, honest manners, and eminence in a lovely art; that the lady had, moreover, qualities and accomplishments belonging to her sex, which might form a chapter apart for her; such as music, modesty, beauty, and that softness of disposition, which is the ornament of her sex and charm of ours; but that all these considerations would increase the pang of separation; that their stay here was to be short; that you rack our whole system when you are parted from those you love, complaining that such a separation is worse than death, inasmuch as this ends our sufferings, whereas that only begins them; and that the separation would, in this instance, be the more severe, as you would probably never see them again.

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Heart. But they told me they would come back again, the next year.

Head. But, in the meantime, see what you suffer; and their return, too, depends on so many circumstances, that if you had a grain of prudence, you would not count upon it. Upon the whole, it is improbable, and therefore you should abandon the idea of ever seeing them again.

Heart. May heaven abandon me if I do!

Head. Very well. Suppose, then, they come back. They are to stay two months, and, when these are expired, what is to follow? Perhaps you flatter yourself they may come to America?

Heart. God only knows what is to happen. I see nothing impossible in that supposition; and I see things wonderfully contrived sometimes, to make us happy. Where could they find such objects as in America, for the exercise of their enchanting art? especially the lady, who paints landscapes so inimitably. She wants only subjects worthy of immortality, to render her pencil immortal. The Falling Spring, the Cascade of Niagara, the passage of the Potomac through the Blue Mountains, the Natural Bridge; it is worth a voyage across the Atlantic to see these objects; much more to paint, and make them, and thereby ourselves, known to all ages. And our own dear Monticello; where has nature spread so rich a mantle under the eye? mountains, forests, rocks, rivers. With what majesty do we there ride above the storms! How sublime to look

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down into the workhouse of nature, to see her clouds, hail, snow, rain, thunder, all fabricated at our feet! and the glorious sun, when rising as if out of a distant water, just gilding the tops of the mountains, and giving life to all nature! I hope in God, no circumstance may ever make either seek an asylum from grief! With what sincere sympathy I would open every cell of my composition, to receive the effusion of their woes! I would pour my tears into their wounds; and if a drop of balm could be found on the top of the Cordilleras, or at the remotest sources of the Missouri, I would go thither myself to seek and to bring it. Deeply practised in the school of affliction, the human heart knows no joy which I have not lost, no sorrow of which I have not drunk! Fortune can present no grief of unknown form to me! Who, then, can so softly bind up the wound of another, as he who has felt the same wound himself? But heaven forbid they should ever know a sorrow! Let us turn over another leaf, for this has distracted me.

Head. Well. Let us put this possibility to trial then, on another point. When you consider the character which is given of our country, by the lying newspapers of London, and their credulous copiers in other countries; when you reflect that all Europe is made to believe we are a lawless banditti, in a state of absolute anarchy, cutting one another's throats, and plundering without distinction, how could you expect that any reasonable creature would venture among us?

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Heart. But you and I know that all this is false: that there is not a country on earth, where there is greater tranquillity; where the laws are milder, or better obeyed; where every one is more attentive to his own business, or meddles less with that of others; where strangers are better received, more hospitably treated, and with a more sacred respect.

Head. True, you and I know this, but your friends do not know it.

Heart. But they are sensible people, who think for themselves. They will ask of impartial foreigners, who have been among us, whether they saw or heard on the spot, any instance of anarchy. They will judge, too, that a people, occupied as we are, in opening rivers, digging navigable canals, making roads, building public schools, establishing academies, erecting busts and statues to our great men, protecting religious freedom, abolishing sanguinary punishments, reforming and improving our laws in general; they will judge, I say, for themselves, whether these are not the occupations of a people at their ease; whether this is not better evidence of our true state, than a London newspaper, hired to lie, and from which no truth can ever be extracted but by reversing everything it says.

Head. I did not begin this lecture, my friend, with a view to learn from you what America is doing. Let us return, then, to our point. I wish to make you sensible how imprudent it is to place your affections, without reserve, on objects you

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must so soon lose, and whose loss, when it comes, must cost you such severe pangs. Remember the last night. You knew your friends were to leave Paris to-day. This was enough to throw you into agonies. All night you tossed us from one side of the bed to the other; no sleep, no rest. The poor crippled wrist, too, never left one moment in the same position; now up, now down, now here, now there; was it to be wondered at, if its pains returned? The surgeon then was to be called, and to be rated as an ignoramus, because he could not divine the cause of this extraordinary change. In fine, my friend, you must mend your manners. This is not a world to live at random in, as you do. To avoid those eternal distresses, to which you are forever exposing us, you must learn to look forward, before you take a step which may interest our peace. Everything in this world is matter of calculation. Advance then with caution, the balance in your hand. Put into one scale the pleasures which any object may offer; but put fairly into the other, the pains which are to follow, and see which preponderates. The making an acquaintance, is not a matter of indifference. When a new one is proposed to you, view it all round. Consider what advantages it presents, and to what inconveniences it may expose you. Do not bite at the bait of pleasure, till you know there is no hook beneath it. The art of life is the art of avoiding pain; and he is the best pilot, who steers clearest of the rocks and shoals with

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which it is beset. Pleasure is always before us; but misfortune is at our side: while running after that, this arrests us. The most effectual means of being secure against pain, is to retire within ourselves, and to suffice for our own happiness. Those which depend on ourselves, are the only pleasures a wise man will count on: for nothing is ours, which another may deprive us of. Hence the inestimable value of intellectual pleasures. Ever in our power, always leading us to something new, never cloying, we ride serene and sublime above the concerns of this mortal world, contemplating truth and nature, matter and motion, the laws which bind up their existence, and that Eternal Being who made and bound them up by those laws. Let this be our employ. Leave the bustle and tumult of society to those who have not talents to occupy themselves without them. Friendship is but another name for an alliance with the follies and the misfortunes of others. Our own share of miseries is sufficient: why enter then as volunteers into those of another? Is there so little gall poured into our cup, that we must need help to drink that of our neighbor? A friend dies, or leaves us: we feel as if a limb was cut off. He is sick: we must watch over him, and participate of his pains. His fortune is ship-wrecked: ours must be laid under contribution. He loses a child, a parent, or a partner: we must mourn the loss as if it were our own.

Heart. And what more sublime delight than to

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mingle tears with one whom the hand of heeavn hath smitten! to watch over the bed of sickness, and to beguile its tedious and its painful moments! to share our bread with one to whom misfortune has left none! This world abounds indeed with misery; to lighten its burthen, we must divide it with one another. But let us now try the virtue of your mathematical balance, and as you have put into one scale the burthens of friendship, let me put its comforts into the other. When languishing then under disease, how grateful is the solace of our friends! how are we penetrated with their assiduities and attentions! how much are we supported by their encouragements and kind offices! When heaven has taken from us some object of our love, how sweet is it to have a bosom whereon to recline our heads, and into which we may pour the torrent of our tears! Grief, with such a comfort, is almost a luxury! In a life, where we are perpetually exposed to want and accident, yours is a wonderful proposition, to insulate ourselves, to retire from all aid, and to wrap ourselves in the mantle of self-sufficiency! For, assuredly, nobody will care for him who cares for nobody. But friendship is precious, not only in the shade, but in the sunshine of life; and thanks to a benevolent arrangement of things, the greater part of life is sunshine. I will recur for proof to the days we have lately passed. On these, indeed, the sun shone brightly. How gay did the face of nature appear! Hills, valleys, chateaux, gardens,

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rivers, every object wore its liveliest hue! Whence did they borrow it? From the presence of our charming companion. They were pleasing, because she seemed pleased. Alone, the scene would have been dull and insipid: the participation of it with her gave it relish. Let the gloomy monk, sequestered from the world, seek unsocial pleasures in the bottom of his cell! Let the sublimated philosopher grasp visionary happiness, while pursuing phantoms dressed in the garb of truth! Their supreme wisdom is supreme folly; and they mistake for happiness the mere absence of pain. Had they ever felt the solid pleasure of one generous spasm of the heart, they would exchange for it all the frigid speculations of their lives, which you have been vaunting in such elevated terms. Believe me, then, my friend, that that is a miserable arithmetic which could estimate friendship at nothing, or at less than nothing. Respect for you has induced me to enter into this discussion, and to hear principles uttered which I detest and abjure. Respect for myself now obliges me to recall you into the proper limits of your office. When nature assigned us the same habitation, she gave us over it a divided empire. To you, she allotted the field of science; to me, that of morals. When the circle is to be squared, or the orbit of a comet to be traced; when the arch of greatest strength, or the solid of least resistance, is to be investigated, take up the problem; it is yours; nature has given me no cognizance of it. In like

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manner, in denying to you the feelings of sympathy, of benevolence, of gratitude, of justice, of love, of friendship, she has excluded you from their control. To these, she has adapted the mechanism of the heart. Morals were too essential to the happiness of man, to be risked on the uncertain combinations of the head. She laid their foundation, therefore, in sentiment, not in science. That she gave to all, as necessary to all; this to a few only, as sufficing with a few. I know, indeed, that you pretend authority to the sovereign control of our conduct, in all its parts; and a respect for your grave saws and maxims, a desire to do what is right, has sometimes induced me to conform to your counsels. A few facts, however, which I can readily recall to your memory, will suffice to prove to you, that nature has not organized you for our moral direction. When the poor, wearied soldier whom we overtook at Chickahominy, with his pack on his back, begged us to let him get up behind our chariot, you began to calculate that the road was full of soldiers, and that if all should be taken up, our horses would fail in their journey. We drove on therefore. But, soon becoming sensible you had made me do wrong, that, though we cannot relieve all the distressed, we should relieve as many as we can, I turned about to take up the soldier; but he had entered a bye-path, and was no more to be found; and from that moment to this, I could never find him out, to ask his forgiveness. Again, when the poor woman came

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to ask a charity in Philadelphia, you whispered that she looked like a drunkard, and that half a dollar was enough to give her for the ale-house. Those who want the dispositions to give, easily find reasons why they ought not to give. When I sought her out afterwards, and did what I should have done at first, you know that she employed the money immediately towards placing her child at school. If our country, when pressed with wrongs at the point of the bayonet, had been governed by its heads instead of its hearts, where should we have been now? Hanging on a gallows as high as Haman's. You began to calculate, and to compare wealth and numbers: we threw up a few pulsations of our blood; we supplied enthusiasm against wealth and numbers; we put our existence to the hazard, when the hazard seemed against us, and we saved our country: justifying, at the same time, the ways of Providence, whose precept is, to do always what is right, and leave the issue to Him. In short, my friend, as far as my recollection serves me, I do not know that I ever did a good thing on your suggestion, or a dirty one without it. I do forever, then, disclaim your interference in my province. Fill paper as you please with triangles and squares: try how many ways you can hang and combine them together. I shall never envy nor control your sublime delights. But leave me to decide, when and where friendships are to be contracted. You say, I contract them at random. So

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you said the woman at Philadelphia was a drunkard. I receive none into my esteem, till I know they are worthy of it. Wealth, title, office, are no recommendations to my friendship. On the contrary, great good qualities are requisite to make amends for their having wealth, title, and office. You confess, that, in the present case, I could not have made a worthier choice. You only object, that I was so soon to lose them. We are not immortal ourselves, my friend; how can we expect our enjoyments to be so? We have no rose without its thorn; no pleasure without alloy. It is the law of our existence; and we must acquiesce. It is the condition annexed to all our pleasures, not by us who receive, but by him who gives them. True, this condition is pressing cruelly on me at this moment. I feel more fit for death than life. But, when I look back on the pleasures of which it is the consequence, I am conscious they were worth the price I am paying. Notwithstanding your endeavors, too, to damp my hopes, I comfort myself with expectations of their promised return. Hope is sweeter than despair; and they were too good to mean to deceive me. "In the summer," said the gentleman; but "in the spring," said the lady; and I should love her forever, were it only for that! Know, then, my friend, that I have taken these good people into my bosom; that I have lodged them in the warmest cell I could find; that I love them, and will continue to love them through life; that if fortune should

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dispose them on one side the globe, and me on the other, my affections shall pervade its whole mass to reach them. Knowing then my determination, attempt not to disturb it. If you can, at any time, furnish matter for their amusement, it will be the office of a good neighbor to do it. I will, in like manner, seize any occasion which may offer, to do the like good turn for you with Condorcet, Rittenhouse, Madison, La Cretelle, or any other of those worthy sons of science, whom you so justly prize.

I thought this a favorable proposition whereon to rest the issue of the dialogue. So I put an end to it by calling for my nightcap. Methinks, I hear you wish to heaven I had called a little sooner, and so spared you the ennui of such a sermon. I did not interrupt them sooner, because I was in a mood for hearing sermons. You too were the subject; and on such a thesis, I never think the theme long; not even if I am to write it, and that slowly and awkwardly, as now, with the left hand. But, that you may not be discouraged from a correspondence which begins so formidably, I will promise you, on my honor, that my future letters shall be of a reasonable length. I will even agree to express but half my esteem for you, for fear of cloying you with too full a dose. But, on your part, no curtailing. If your letters are as long as the Bible, they will appear short to me. Only let them be brimful of affection. I shall read them with the dispositions with which Arlequin, in *Les deux billets*, spelt the words "*je*

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t'aime," and wished that the whole alphabet had entered into their composition.

We have had incessant rains since your departure. These make me fear for your health, as well as that you had an uncomfortable journey. The same cause has prevented me from being able to give you any account of your friends here. This voyage to Fontainebleau will probably send the Count de Moutier and the Marquis de Brehan, to America. Danquerville promised to visit me, but has not done it as yet. De la Tude comes sometimes to take family soup with me, and entertains me with anecdotes of his five and thirty years' imprisonment. How fertile is the mind of man, which can make the Bastile and dungeon of Vincennes yield interesting anecdotes! You know this was for making four verses on Madame de Pompadour. But I think you told me you did not know the verses. They were these: "*Sans esprit, sans sentiment, Sans etre belle, ni neuve, En France on peut avoir le premier amant: Pompadour en est l'épreuve.*" I have read the memoir of his three escapes. As to myself, my health is good, except my wrist which mends slowly, and my mind which mends not at all, but broods constantly over your departure. The lateness of the season obliges me to decline my journey into the south of France. Present me in the most friendly terms to Mr. Cosway, and receive me into your own recollection with a partiality and warmth, proportioned not to my own poor merit, but to the sentiments of sincere

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affection and esteem, with which I have the honor to be, my dear Madam, your most obedient humble servant.

TO MRS. COSWAY.

PARIS, October 13, 1786.

MY DEAR MADAM,—Just as I had sealed the enclosed, I received a letter of a good length, dated Antwerp, with your name at the bottom. I prepared myself for a feast. I read two or three sentences; looked again at the signature to see if I had not mistaken it. It was visibly yours. Read a sentence or two more. Diable! Spelt your name distinctly. There was not a letter of it omitted. Began to read again. In fine, after reading a little and examining the signature, alternately, half a dozen times, I found that your name was to four lines only, instead of four pages. I thank you for the four lines, however, because they prove you think of me; little, indeed, but better little than none. To show how much I think of you, I send you the enclosed letter of three sheets of paper, being a history of the evening I parted with you. But how expect you should read a letter of three mortal sheets of paper? I will tell you. Divide it into six doses of half a sheet each, and every day, when the toilette begins, take a dose, that is to say, read half a sheet. By this means, it will have the only merit its length and dullness can aspire to, that of

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assisting your *coiffeuse* to procure you six good naps of sleep. I will even allow you twelve days to get through it, holding you rigorously to one condition only, that is, that at whatever hour you receive this, you do not break the seal of the enclosed till the next toilette. Of this injunction I require a sacred execution. I rest it on your friendship, and that, in your first letter, you tell me honestly whether you have honestly performed it. I send you the song I promised. Bring me in return the subject, *Jours heureux!* Were I a songster, I should sing it all to these words: "*Dans ces lieux qu'elle tarde à se rendre!*" Learn it, I pray you, and sing it with feeling. My right hand presents its devoirs to you, and sees, with great indignation, the left supplanting it in a correspondence so much valued. You will know the first moment it can resume its rights. The first exercise of them shall be addressed to you, as you had the first essay of its rival. It will yet, however, be many a day. Present my esteem to Mr. Cosway, and believe me to be yours very affectionately.

TO M. DE CORNY.

PARIS, October 20, 1786.

SIR,—By the first conveyance which shall offer, I propose to report to the Governor of Virginia the manner in which the wish of the State, relative to the bust of the Marquis de La Fayette, has been

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carried into execution, and the very friendly and flattering attentions paid by Messieurs de Prevot des Marchands, et Echevins de Paris to them and to the character to which they desired to show their gratitude. It would enable us to do this with more exactness could I obtain copies of the proceedings which attended the inauguration of the bust. Your goodness, already so often manifested in this business, encourages me to endeavor to obtain these through your intervention. I do it the rather as it furnishes me an occasion very grateful to my feelings, of returning to you at the same time my sincere thanks for the zeal with which you have seconded the views of the State, the readiness with which you have condescended to give me information in the course of the proceedings, and to secure by your influence the success of these proceedings. This friendly assistance in the discharge of a public duty has added to the many motives of private esteem and attachment with which I have honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE HONORABLE JOHN JAY.

PARIS, October 22, 1786.

SIR,—In a letter of Jan. 2d, I had the honor of communicating to you the measures which had been pursued here for the improvement of the commerce between the United States and France, the general

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view of that commerce which I had presented to the Chevalier de Vergennes. The circumstances of the renewal of the forms which had obliged me to press separately and in the first place the article of tobacco, and that which had also brought forward that of whale oil; and, in my letters of May 27th and 31st, I informed you of the result on the first of these articles. During the course of the proceedings, a committee had been established for considering the means of promoting the general commerce with America, and the M. de La Fayette was named of that committee. His influence in obtaining that establishment was valuable, but his labors and his perseverance as a member of it became infinitely more so. Immediately after the committee of Berni, of which my letter of May 27th gave an account, we thought it expedient to bring the general subject of the American commerce before the committee; and as the members were much unacquainted with the nature and value of our commercial productions, the Marquis proposed that, in a letter to him as a member, I should give as particular details of them as I could, as a ground for the committee to proceed on. I did so in the letter, a copy of which I have now the honor to enclose. The committee were well disposed, and agreed to report, not only the general measures which they thought expedient to be adopted, but the form of the letter to be written by the minister of finance to me, for the communication of those measures. I have

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received this letter this morning and have now the honor to enclose it. I accompany it with the one proposed by the committee, of which you will perceive that it is almost a verbal copy; it furnished a proof of the disposition of the King and his ministers to produce a more intimate intercourse between the two nations. Indeed, I must say that, as far as I am able to see, the friendship of the people of this country towards us is cordial and general, and that it is a kind of security for the friendship of ministers who cannot in any country be uninfluenced by the voice of the people. To this we may add, that it is their interest, as well as ours, to multiply the bans of friendship between us. As the regulations stated in the minister's letter are immediately interesting to those concerned in our commerce, I send printed copies of it to the sea-port towns in France. We may consider them as an ultimate settlement of the conditions of our commerce with this country; for, though the consolidation of the ship duties, and the encouragements for the importation of rice are not finally decided, yet the letter contains a promise of them so soon as necessary facts shall be known. With a view to come at the facts relative to the two last subjects, I had proposed whenever I should receive the final decision now enclosed, to avail myself of the pause which that would produce, in order to visit the sea-port towns with which we trade chiefly, and to collect that kind of knowledge of our commerce, and of

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what may be further useful to it, which can only be gathered on the spot, and suggested by one's own inspection. But the delay which has attended the obtaining the final determination has brought us to the entrance of winter, and will oblige me to postpone my journey to the spring. Besides the objects of public utility which induce me to make a tour of this land, that of health will oblige me to pay more attention to exercise and change of air than I have hitherto done since my residence in Europe; and I am willing to hope that I may be permitted at times to absent myself from this place, taking occasions when there is nothing important on hand, nor likely to arise. The assistance of the M. de La Fayette in the whole of this business, has been so earnest and so efficacious, that I am in duty bound to place it under the eye of Congress, as worthy their notice on this occasion. Their thanks, or suc other notice as they think proper, would be grateful to him without doubt. He has richly deserved and will continue to deserve it, whenever occasions shall arise of rendering service to the United States. These occasions will continually occur. Though the abolition of the monopoly of our tobacco cannot be hoped under the present circumstances, changes are possible which may open that hope again. However jealous, too, this country is of foreign intercourse with their colonies, that intercourse is too essential to us to be abandoned as desperate. At this moment, indeed, it cannot be

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proposed; but, by watching circumstances, occasion may arise hereafter; and I hope will arise. I know from experience what would, in that case, be the value of such an auxiliary.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO H. E. J. ADAMS.

PARIS, October 27, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I formerly had the honor of mentioning to you the measures I had taken to have our commerce with this country put on a better footing, and you know the circumstances which had occasioned the articles of whale oil and tobacco to be first brought forward. Latterly we got the committee, which had been established for this purpose, to take up the other article, and on their report, the King and council have come to the decisions explained in the enclosed letter from M. de Calonne[1] to me. The abandonment of revenue raised on articles of *importation* shows a friendly disposition. I have had, through this business, a most zealous and powerful auxiliary in the Marquis de La Fayette, by whose activity it has been sooner and better done than I could otherwise have possibly expected. Though you are free to show the enclosed letter as you please, I would wish it kept out of the public papers two or

[1] French Minister of Finance.

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three months. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO DR. RAMSAY.

PARIS, October 27, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I mentioned to you in a former letter that as the booksellers in London were afraid to sell your book there, I would have some copies brought here, advertising in the London papers that they could be furnished weekly from hence by the Diligence. Fifty copies are just arrived, and fifty more are on the way. The translation will come from the press in a few days.

Having observed the immense consumption of rice in this country, it became matter of wonder to me why so few ships come here with that article from South Carolina and Georgia. The information I received on my first enquiries was, that little Carolina rice came here, because it was less clean and less good than what is brought from the Levant. Further enquiry, however, has satisfied me of the inexactitude of this information. The case is as follows. About one-half the rice consumed in France is from Carolina, the other half is chiefly from Piedmont. The Piedmont rice is thought by connoisseurs to be the best *au gras;* the Carolina rice best *au lait*. Yet the superior whiteness of the latter is so much more pleasing to the eye as to compensate with many purchasers its deficiency in quality. Carolina rice sells

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at Havre by wholesale at 22, 23, 24 livres the French quintal; the livre being 10*d.* sterling, and the French quintal 109 lbs. English. At the approach of Lent, it rises to 27 livres. It is retailed in Paris at from 6 to 10 sous the French pound, according to its quality, being sorted. Piedmont rice sells always at 10 sous (5*d.* sterling) the pound. In the wholesale it is 3 or 4 livres the quintal dearer than Carolina rice. This would supplant that of Piedmont, if brought in sufficient quantities, and to France directly. But it is first carried and deposited in England, and it is the merchant of that country who sends it here, drawing a great profit himself, while the commodity is, moreover, subjected to the expenses of a double voyage. You will perceive by the enclosed letter that the government here is disposed to encourage its importation. I think they will receive it duty free, or under very slight duty, barely sufficient to indicate the quantity imported. When I compared the price of this article here with what it is in London or Charleston, I cannot help hoping the difference will be sufficient to draw to this country immediately what its consumption would call for. It must come to Havre or Rouen, and must arrive there in time to reach Paris by the 1st of February, that is to say a month before the Careme, as most persons lay in their provision of rice during that period. This condition is so indispensable that it certainly loses its sale if it arrives later. I send you some specimens of the different kinds of rice as sold here. If, by making known

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these details, you think the intercourse between our country and this may be improved, I am sure you will take on yourself the trouble of doing it; nobody being more sensible than you are of the motives both moral and political which should induce us to bind the two countries together by as many ties as possible of interest and affection. I cannot pretend to affirm that this country will stand by us on every just occasion, but I am sure, if this will not, there is no other that will. I am, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[A CIRCULAR LETTER.]

PARIS, October 29, 1786.

SIR,—I enclose to you the copy of a letter which I have had the honor to receive from his Excellency, M. de Calonne, one of his majesty's ministers, wherein he is pleased to communicate to me sundry regulations lately made for the encouragement of the commerce between France and the United States of America. The favorable footing on which American productions will now be received in the ports of this country will, I hope, occasion a more general introduction of them, when brought hither. I equally hope that motives both of interest and gratitude will combine to induce the importers to take in exchange the productions of this country. A commerce carried on by exchange of productions is the most likely to be lasting and to meet mutual encouragement. You

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will be pleased to communicate the contents of the enclosed letter to the persons at your port concerned in the American trade, but so that it may not get into the public papers. You will observe that the article of rice and ship duties are still to be provided for. I shall be obliged to you if you will inform me what duties are paid on American rice on its importation into your port, and to give me a distinct detail of the several port duties and ship duties paid by American vessels thither, noting on what or by what name they are payable, the amount, for whose profit they are, by what title they are received, and the laws which authorized them; in order that we may be enabled to get these articles settled also. I have the honor to be, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO M. DE CALONNE.

PARIS, November 2, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of October the 22d, wherein you communicate to me the regulations which His Majesty, the King, has been pleased lately to establish in favor of the commerce between his subjects and the citizens of the United States. I avail myself of the first occasion of conveying this information to Congress, who will receive with singular satisfaction this new proof of His Majesty's friendship and of his willingness to multiply the ties of interest and intercourse

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between the two nations. Favors are doubly precious which, promoting the present purposes of interest and of friendship, enlarge the foundations for their continuance and increase. The part which your Excellency has been pleased to take in the establishment of these regulations, merits and meets my sincere thanks, and adds a little the more to those sentiments of profound esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO M. DE CREVECEUR.

PARIS, November 6, 1786.

SIR,—Congress have as yet come to no resolution as to the general redemption of paper money. That it is to be redeemed is a principle of which there is no doubt in the mind of any member of Congress, nor of any citizen of the United States. A resolution of Congress taken in a particular case, which stood on the same ground on which the general one will stand, founds a presumption amounting nearly to a certainty that they will pay to the holder of every bill what it cost him, or the person whom he represents at the time of receiving it, with an interest from that time, of six per cent. They have of course established no rule of evidence as to the time of receiving the money. I think, however, that it would be advisable for M. de Lisle, or the representatives of Pileerf, to establish the time at which their money

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was received by the affidavits of such persons as know it. Those of disinterested persons would be best; but if there is no disinterested person acquainted with the fact, they will do well to take the affidavits of persons interested. It is probable this kind of testimony will be admitted; at any rate it can do no harm, no particular form nor no terms of art are required for these affidavits. It will suffice if they state facts substantially, and that the oath be administered by some person who, by the laws of the country in which it is administered, is authorized to administer an oath. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO M. DU RIVAL.

PARIS, November 7, 1786.

SIR,—I am honored with your letter of the 1st instant, enclosing inquiries on the subject of the coins of the United States. Some time during the last year, Congress decided that the Spanish milled dollar should be their money unit, and that their coins should be in a decimal progression above or below that. Some intermediate coins will also be doubtless made for convenience, and indeed they determined that their smallest copper coin should be the two-hundredth part of a dollar. They did not determine how much pure silver their money unit should contain, nor establish the proportion between their silver and gold coins. No other reso-

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lutions were entered into, nor had anything been done to effectuate these. What is said, therefore, on this subject in the *Courier d'Europe* is entirely fable, unless the compiler of that paper has received information of a later date than the middle of August. I do expect that Congress will sometime soon complete their system or resolutions on this subject, and carry them into effect.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

P. S. I omitted to observe that most of the gold and silver coins of Europe pass in the several States of America according to the quantity of pure metal they contain.

TO M. FAMIN.

PARIS, November 11, 1786.

SIR,—This will be handed you by Colonel Blackden, heretofore an officer in the American army—at present engaged in trade. He goes to Honfleur with a view to examine the commercial relations which may be established between that port and the United States. He wishes particularly to see the nature of its harbor, the conveniences already established for commerce, and to know something of the productions which can be taken and given there in exchange. Knowing your desire to assist in drawing the Amer-

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ican commerce to that port, I take the liberty of recommending this gentleman to your acquaintance, and of praying you to procure him the information he desires.

Some late regulations of the King and Council in favor of the commerce of the United States having given us room to hope that our endeavors may be successful to remove a good part of it from Great Britain to France, Honfleur presents itself as a more important instrument for this purpose than it had heretofore appeared. We are, therefore, now pressing more earnestly its establishment as a free port, and such other regulations in its favor as may invite the commerce to it.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

TO THE HONORABLE MR. JAY.

PARIS, November 12, 1786.

SIR,—In a letter which I had the honor of writing you on the 26th of September, I informed you that a Dutch company were making propositions to the Minister of Finance here to purchase at a discount, the debt due from the United States to this country. I have lately procured a copy of their memoir which I now enclose. Should Congress think this subject worthy their attention, they have no time to lose, as the necessities of the minister, which alone has made him listen to this proposition, may force him to a

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speedy conclusion. The effect which a payment of the whole sum would have here, would be very valuable. The only question is, whether we can borrow it in Holland, a question which cannot be resolved but in Holland. The trouble of the trial, and the expense of the transaction, would be well repaid by the dispositions which would be excited in our favor in the King and his ministers. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

M. LE ROY DE L'ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES.

PARIS, November 13, 1786.

SIR,—I received the honor of yours of September the 18th, a day or two after the accident of a dislocated wrist had disabled me from writing. I have waited thus long in constant hope of recovering its use. But finding that this hope walks before me like my shadow, I can no longer oppose the desire and duty of answering your polite and learned letter. I therefore employ my left hand in the office of scribe, which it performs indeed slowly, awkwardly and badly.

The information given by me to the Marquis de Chastellux, and alluded to in his book and in your letter was, that the sea breezes which prevail in the lower parts of Virginia during the summer months, and in the warm parts of day, had made a sensible

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progress into the interior country: that formerly, within the memory of persons living, they extended but little above Williamsburg; that afterwards they became sensible as high as Richmond; and that, at present, they penetrate sometimes as far as the first mountains, which are above an hundred miles further from the sea coast than Williamsburg is. It is very rare, indeed, that they reach those mountains, and not till the afternoon is considerably advanced. A light north-westerly breeze is, for the most part, felt there, while an easterly or north-easterly wind is blowing strongly in the lower country. How far northward and southward of Virginia this easterly breeze takes place, I am not informed. I must, therefore, be understood as speaking of that State only, which extends on the sea coast from 36½° to 38° of latitude.

This is the fact. We know too little of the operations of nature in the physical world to assign causes with any degree of confidence. Willing always, however, to guess at what we do not know, I have sometimes indulged myself with conjectures on the causes of the phenomena above stated. I will hazard them on paper for your amusement, premising for their foundation some principles believed to be true.

Air resting on a heated and reflecting surface, becomes warmer, rarer and lighter? it ascends therefore, and the circumjacent air, which is colder and heavier, flows into its place, becomes warmed and,

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lightened in its turn, ascends, and is succeeded as that which went before. If the heated surface be circular, the air flows to it from every quarter, like the rays of a circle to its centre. If it be a zone of determinate breadth and indefinite length, the air will flow from each side perpendicularly on it. If the currents of air flowing from opposite sides, be of equal force, they will meet in equilibrio, at a line drawn longitudinally through the middle of the zone. If one current be stronger than the other, the stronger one will force back the line of equilibrium towards the further edge of the zone, or even beyond it: the motion it has acquired causing it to overshoot the zone, as the motion acquired by a pendulum in its descent causes it to vibrate beyond the point of its lowest descent.

Earth, exposed naked to the sun's rays, absorbs a good portion of them; but, being an opaque body, those rays penetrate to a small depth only. Its surface, by this accumulation of absorbed rays, becomes considerably heated. The residue of the rays are reflected into the air resting on that surface. This air, then, is warmed, 1, by the *direct* rays of the sun; 2, by its *reflected* rays; 3, by *contact* with the heated surface. A forest receiving the sun's rays, a part of them enters the intervals between the trees, and their reflection upwards is intercepted by the leaves and boughs. The rest fall on the trees, the leaves of which being generally inclined towards the horizon, reflect the rays downwards. The atmosphere here,

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then, receives little or no heat by reflection. Again, these leaves having a power of keeping themselves cool by their own transpiration, they impart no heat to the air by contact. Reflection and contact, then, two of the three modes before-mentioned of communicating heat, are wanting here; and of course, the air over a country covered by forest must be colder than that over cultivated grounds.

The sea being pellucid, the sun's rays penetrate it to a considerable depth. Being also fluid, and in perpetual agitation, its parts are constantly mixed together; so that, instead of its heat being all accumulated in its surface, as in the case of a solid opaque body, it is diffused through its whole mass. Its surface, therefore, is comparatively cool, for these reasons, to which may be added that of evaporation. The small degree of reflection which might otherwise take place, is generally prevented by the rippled state of its surface. The air resting on the sea, then, like that resting on a forest, receives little or no heat by reflection or contact, and is therefore colder than that which lies over a cultivated country.

To apply these observations to the phenomena under consideration. The first settlements of Virginia were made along the sea coast, bearing from the south towards the north, a little eastwardly. These settlements formed a zone, in which, though every point was not cleared of its forest, yet a good proportion was cleared and cultivated. The cultivated earth, as the sun advances above the horizon

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in the morning, acquires from it an intense heat, which is retained and increased through the warm parts of the day. The air, resting on it, becomes warm in proportion, and rises. On one side is a country still covered with forest, on the other is the ocean. The colder air from both of these then rushes towards the heated zone to supply the place left vacant there by the ascent of the warm air. The breeze from the west is light and feeble, because it traverses a country covered with mountains and forests, which retard its current. That from the east is strong, as passing over the ocean, wherein there is no obstacle to its motion. It is probable, therefore, that this easterly breeze forces itself far into or perhaps beyond the zone which produces it. This zone is, by the increase of population, continually widening into the interior country. The line of equilibrium between the easterly and westerly breezes is, therefore, progressive.

Did no foreign causes intervene, the sea breeze would be a little southwardly of the east, that direction being perpendicular to our coast. But within the tropics, there are winds which blow continually and strongly from the east. This current affects the course of the air, even without the tropics. The same cause, too, which produces a strong motion of the air from east to west, between the tropics, to wit, the sun, exercises its influence without those limits, but more freely, in proportion as the surface of the globe is there more obliquely presented to its rays.

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This effect, though not great, is not to be neglected when the sun is in, or near our summer solstice, which is the season of these easterly breezes. The northern air, too, flowing towards the equatorial parts, to supply the vacuum made there by the ascent of their heated air, has only the small rotatory motion of the polar latitudes from which it comes. Nor does it suddenly acquire the swifter rotation of the parts into which it enters. This gives it the effect of a motion opposed to that of the earth, that is to say, of an easterly one. And all these causes together, are known to produce currents of air in the Atlantic, varying from east to north-east, as far as the fortieth degree of latitude. It is this current which presses our sea breeze out of its natural south-easterly direction, to an easterly, and sometimes almost a north-easterly one.

We are led naturally to ask, where the progress of our sea breezes will ultimately be stopped? No confidence can be placed in any answer to this question. If they should ever pass the mountainous country which separates the waters of the ocean from those of the Mississippi, there may be circumstances which might aid their further progress, as far as the Mississippi. That mountainous country commences about two hundred miles from the sea coast, and consists of successive ranges passing from north-east to south-west, and rising the one above the other to the Alleghany Ridge, which is the highest of all. From that, lower and lower ridges succeed one another again,

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till having covered in the whole, a breadth of two hundred miles from southeast to northwest, they subside into a plain, fertile country, extending four hundred miles to the Mississippi, and probably much further on the other side, towards the heads of the western waters. When this country shall become cultivated, it will, for the reasons before explained, draw to it winds from the east and west. In this case, should the sea breezes pass the intermediate mountains, they will rather be aided than opposed in their further progress to the Mississippi. There are circumstances, however, which render it possible that they may not be able to pass those intermediate mountains. 1. These mountains constitute the highest lands within the United States. The air on them must consequently be very cold and heavy, and have a tendency to flow both to the east and west. 2. Ranging across the current of the sea breezes, they are in themselves so many successive barriers opposed to their progress. 3. The country they occupy is covered with trees, which assist to weaken and spend the force of the breezes. 4. It will remain so covered; a very small proportion of it being capable of culture. 5. The temperature of the air, then, will never be softened by culture.

Whether in the plain country between the Mississippi and Alleghany mountains, easterly or westerly winds prevail at present, I am not informed. I conjecture, however, that they must be westerly; and I think with you, Sir, that if those mountains were

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to subside into plain country, as their opposition to the westerly winds would then be removed, they would repress more powerfully those from the east, and of course would remove the line of equilibrium nearer to the sea coast for the present.

Having had occasion to mention the course of the tropical winds from east to west, I will add some observations connected with them. They are known to occasion a strong current in the ocean, in the same direction. This current breaks on that wedge of land of which Saint Roque is the point; the southern column of it *probably* turning off and washing the coast of Brazil. I say *probably*, because I have never heard of the fact, and conjecture it from reason only. The northern column having its western motion diverted towards the north, and reinforced by the currents of the great rivers Orinoko, Amazons and Tocantin, has probably been the agent which formed the Gulf of Mexico, cutting the American continent nearly in two, in that part. It re-issues into the ocean at the northern end of the Gulf, and passes by the name of the Gulf Stream, all along the coast of the United States, to its northern extremity. There it turns off eastwardly, having formed by its eddy at this turn the Banks of Newfoundland. Through the whole of its course, from the Gulf to the Banks, it retains a very sensible warmth. The Spaniards are, at this time, desirous of trading to the Philippine islands, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; but opposed in it by the Dutch, under

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authority of the treaty of Munster, they are examining the practicability of a common passage through the Straits of Magellan or round Cape Horn. Were they to make an opening through the Isthmus of Panama, a work much less difficult than some even of the inferior canals of France, however small this opening should be in the beginning, the tropical current, entering it with all its force, would soon widen it sufficiently for its own passage, and thus complete, in a short time, that work which otherwise will still employ it for ages. Less country, too, would be destroyed by it in this way. These consequences would follow: 1. Vessels from Europe or the western coast of Africa, by entering the tropics, would have a steady wind and tide to carry them through the Atlantic, through America and the Pacific Ocean, to every part of the Asiatic coast, and of the eastern coast of Africa; thus performing with speed and safety the tour of the whole globe, to within about twenty-four degrees of longitude, or one fifteenth part of its circumference; the African continent, under the line, occupying about that space. 2. The Gulf of Mexico, now the most dangerous navigation in the world on account of its currents and movable sands, would become stagnant and safe. 3. The Gulf Stream on the coast of the United States would cease, and with that those derangements of course and reckoning, which now impede and endanger the intercourse with those States. 4. The fogs on

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the Banks of Newfoundland,[1] supposed to be the vapors of the Gulf Stream, rendered turbid by cold air, would disappear. 5. Those Banks ceasing to receive supplies of sand, weeds, and warm water, by the Gulf Stream, it might become problematical what effect changes of pasture and temperature would have on the fisheries. However, it is time to relieve you from this long lecture. I wish its subject may have been sufficiently interesting, to make amends for its details. These are submitted with entire deference to your better judgment. I will only add to them, by assuring you of the sentiments of perfect esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

[1] This ingenious and probable conjecture, I found in a letter from Dr. Franklin to yourself, published in the late volume of the American Philosophical Transactions.

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